THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM

The First Two Hundred Years

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TO MY WIFE
WHOSE DEVOTION AND LOYALTY
MADE THIS BOOK POSSIBLE

PREFACE

Early last year a leading New York newspaper conducted a study showing the college freshman's ignorance of American history. The survey was seized upon by "fundamentalists" in education and reactionaries in politics to prove that the results obtained were due to the "new-fangled" idea of teaching history as part of the social studies. They used the occasion to demand a return to the good old days when students were taught "pure and simple" facts.

While no one will deny the importance of factual knowledge, facts, presented as isolated phenomena, became a jumble of unconnected happenings. However, when related to the context of American life as a whole, they are made intelligible and so can be used by the people to further the cause of democracy. This may well be the reason why reactionaries see "red" whenever the teaching of American history goes beyond the memorization of names, dates, battles, and political campaigns.

The present volume, which covers the period from the founding of Jamestown to the election of Jefferson to the presidency (1607-1801) is intended first of all to relate the salient political, social, and cultural facts of American history to material forces at play. Secondly, it seeks to give the reader an understanding of how democracy was built in this country, of the battles, often bloody, that were fought on its behalf. It is in this context that the social struggles of the colonial and early national periods are analyzed and the role of the various classes appraised. Thirdly, the book attempts to show how the struggle for freedom in America was connected with that in Europe. The impact of the English revolutions of the seventeenth century and of the Great French Revolution of the eighteenth is described. Conversely, the influence of the American Revolution upon democratic struggles abroad is discussed.

During the past two decades, important contributions have been made to the interpretation of colonial American history. Especially valuable have been those of Professor Curtis P. Nettels whose stimulating work, *The Roots of American Civilization* (1938), has placed many historians, including the writer, in his debt. In addition, the author wishes to express his obligation to those unsung and much abused heroes of research—the Ph.D's—whose doctoral dissertations, particularly in recent years, have opened up new vistas in the field of colonial and revolutionary history. He also desires to acknowledge the debt he owes to the extended treatments of Osgood, Beer, Channing, Andrews, and Gipson.

Designed as a guide for those who wish to study the origins of the American nation, the book divides the various chapters into main topics and subtopics. Besides, it contains a select bibliography, an index of names, places and events, and reference notes giving the source of all direct quotations in the text.

The author wishes to express his deep appreciation to Professor Frederic Ewen, Dr. Irving Mark, Miss Anna Rochester, and Dr. Sidney L. Jackson for reading the manuscript and making detailed criticisms and valuable suggestions. He is also grateful to the Labor Research Association whose staff has aided the writer in many ways, including the preparation of the manuscript for the printer. He hopes that the book, despite its survey-like character, will give the reader a deeper understanding of just what the struggle for American freedom meant during the first two hundred years of our country's history. Such an understanding is of the greatest importance today because of the current war for our survival as a democratic nation. Since the present conflict coincides with the best interests of the American people, it is in a fundamental sense a continuation of that struggle for American freedom which began more than three centuries ago at Jamestown.

Herbert M. Morais

February, 1944

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PART ONE

ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

1607-1763

CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH AND AMERICAN BACKGROUND

> *". . . Then shal her Majesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse ancient titles iustly confirmed, all odious idlenesse from this our Realme vtterly banished, diuers decayed townes repaired, and many poore and needy persons relieued, and estates of such as now liue in want shall be embettered. . . ."*
>
> —SIR GEORGE PECKHAM, *True Report*, 1582

THE great English migration of the 1600's was an outgrowth of a series of profound economic changes which completely revolutionized English life. Beginning about the middle of the fourteenth century and ending approximately at the close of the sixteenth, this deep-seated economic revolution witnessed the gradual disintegration of the manorial and handicraft economies. The breakdown of these time-honored systems was favorable to the rise of capitalism, the creation of a free market for the production and sale of commodities. Since England was then an agricultural country, the establishment of a free market in land and labor was essential.

THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION, 1350-1600

ENCLOSURES: Of special importance in bringing about this result was the enclosure movement which began in the second half of the fourteenth century. It was marked by three characteristics: the disappearance of the open-field system,* the conversion of arable into pasture land, and the forceful eviction of the peasantry from the soil. The movement was given a direct impetus by the rapid development of the Flemish cloth industry which in turn resulted in a rise in the price of wool in England. Higher wool prices induced English landlords to consolidate small into large holdings and transform farm land into sheep walks.

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* The open-field system was characterized by scattered strips, communal meadows and pastures, and joint tillage.

Enclosures were further stimulated by the Reformation and the rising cost of living. When Henry VIII broke away from Rome in 1534, monasteries were closed and church property confiscated. Ecclesiastical estates were then presented to royal favorites or sold at nominal prices to landlords and merchants. Not infrequently these lands were enclosed and hereditary tenants driven off *en masse*. Still another stimulus was given to the enclosure movement by the rising cost of living which set in especially after 1500. This trend, which was brought about by the growing supply of precious metals, the introduction of a new credit system and the depreciation of the currency, spurred the landlords on to increase quickly the incomes from their estates. As the price of wool rose, farm land was converted into pasture land for sheep. Nor were the advantages outweighed by the expenses of conversion, since small items were involved, such as fencing, hedging, and ditching.

To increase their incomes, English landlords resorted to the additional expedient of squeezing their tenants to the utmost. They cared little about the welfare of the peasantry, though they showed great concern in extracting from them the maximum rent. As one sixteenth century observer aptly remarked, "Princes and Lords seldom look to the good order and wealth of their subjects, only they look to the receiving of their rents ... with great study of enhancing thereof, to the further maintaining of their pompous states; ... for the rest they care not ... 'whether [their tenants] sink or swim.' "[1]

Greedy manorial lords and wealthy farmers did not hesitate to evict their tenants forcibly. Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), who lived while these evictions were taking place, was deeply moved by the tragedy resulting from them. With telling effect, the celebrated author of *Utopia* depicted how peasants were thrown off their lands by fraud and violence and then were forced to "departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widowes, wofull mothers with their young babes. . . ."[2] The wholesale eviction of the peasantry from the soil led the government to pass laws forbidding enclosures. These acts were designed to forestall possible food shortages, internal disturbances and a scarcity of soldiers.

Despite these measures, the enclosure movement continued with the result that English peasants took steps to protect themselves. Sometimes they engaged in sporadic rioting as when they destroyed the Earl of Warwick's park in Warwickshire or when they tore down the palings around Sir William Herbert's park in Wiltshire after that noble gentleman had enclosed a whole village. Sometimes their struggles rose to the heights of insurrection as in the case of Ket's Rebellion of 1549 when the peasants of Norfolk, refusing to "endure injuries so great and cruel," resolved to "throw down the hedges, fill up ditches, lay open the commons, and level to the ground whatever enclosures ... have [been] put up. . . ."[3] Led by Robert Ket, an energetic and able man, the peasants rose in revolt and soon had an army of ten thousand. A manifesto was issued proclaiming that "all bond men [should] be made free for God made all free. . . ."[4] The uprising assumed such dimensions that a force of German mercenaries was called in to drown the revolt in a sea of blood. Eventually, Ket was captured and hanged and a large number of his followers slaughtered with unexampled brutality.

Despite the bitterness with which the peasantry struggled, rapacious landlords and merchants continued to enclose estates. As a result, evictions grew apace and there appeared a large army of free and "unattached" laborers, a considerable portion of whom were unable to find employment. Confronted by the specter of starvation, these unemployed laborers became beggars and were accordingly treated as criminals. Laws were passed during the sixteenth century which provided not only for the whipping and imprisonment of these unfortunate people, but also for their enslavement and execution. Yet, in spite of such drastic legislation, vagabondage persisted and became so widespread that by the time of Elizabeth the nation was compelled to recognize pauperism officially through the introduction of a poor rate designed to raise revenue for the care of the indigent.

While the enclosure movement was going on, serfdom was disappearing. Its eclipse was largely due to the development of a money economy which was closely associated with the growth of trade. As money began to circulate, merchants and artisans now possessed the means to purchase food. Peasants brought their products to the towns where they obtained ready cash. Accordingly, they had the wherewithal to pay rent. Manorial lords were wholly in favor of such money payments. What they wanted were the luxury goods that flowed into England from the Near and Far East. And these could be bought most easily with hard cash. They therefore readily permitted peasants to substitute personal services for money payments. Thus, relieved from customary labor work, peasants were able to devote more time to their own small farms. Meanwhile, the lord was forced to look elsewhere for his labor supply.

THE DOMESTIC SYSTEM OF MANUFACTURING: The revolution in industry followed closely upon the revolution in agriculture. The old guild system, which was characterized by price-fixing, regulated output, and master-apprentice relations gradually gave way to the rising capitalist economy based on wage-labor, a free market, and production for profit. In this connection the growth of the cloth industry played a particularly important role. Two conditions were responsible for the development of this industry along capitalist lines. First, cloth manufacturing involved a minute division of labor and a wide variety of processes. It therefore required the employment of many different kinds of workers—spinners, weavers, fullers, shearmen, dyers, and burlers. Some central agent was needed to co-ordinate the activities of these specialized laborers. Such a person was found in the merchant entrepreneur who had the resources to control the industry and leave the manual work to others.

Another stimulus to the development of capitalism in the cloth industry was the profitable nature of the enterprise. As the demand for woolen and worsted goods increased at home and abroad, English merchants were in a position to sell their products at good prices. Furthermore, they were able to produce their goods cheaply because of the relatively low labor costs, due in no small measure to the existence of large numbers of needy peasants, hard-pressed craftsmen, and recently arrived Dutch, Walloon, and French artisans, all of whom were ready to work for next to nothing.

The capitalistic organization of the cloth industry took the form of the domestic or "putting out" system of manufacturing. This system, which was generally connected with the cultivation of the soil and commonly carried on in the household, operated in one of two ways. In the first, the household manufacturer was all important and the influence of "outside" capital negligible. The producer owned the means of production (spinning-wheel or handloom) as well as the raw material (wool). He sold his product directly to customers, dealers, or merchants. In the other form of the domestic system, the power of "outside" capital, though not dominant, was considerable and the central figure in the industrial set-up was the merchant capitalist. The clothier, as the wool capitalist came to be called, not only distributed tools and raw materials to household producers, but he exercised control over the manufacturing process from the time the wool was sheared, washed, carded, and spun until it was woven, fulled, and perfected into cloth. Some merchant clothiers went one step farther. Instead of "putting out" their material, they brought their laborers together into great workshops. Here the instruments of production were lodged and workers more closely supervised. Some merchants employed thousands of laborers. For example, William Stump had as many as two thousand working for him in 1546, while a Member of Parliament told the House of Commons in 1614 that he and his partner employed over three thousand persons.

Under the domestic system of manufacturing, laborers worked hard and made little. They used a simple handicraft technique and operated their handlooms and spinning wheels from before sunrise to after sunset. The wages were wretched. In 1588 weavers in the West Country and in East Anglica were probably earning less than five pence a day. Given such pay, they would have undoubtedly agreed with the declaration of a fifteenth-century pamphleteer that "the poor have the labour, the rich the winning." Such at least was the burden of numerous complaints drawn up by dissatisfied laborers. In 1623, the wool workers of Wiltshire presented a petition to the authorities in which they charged that they were "not able by their diligent labours to get their livings, by reason that the clothiers at their will [had] made their work extreme hard, and abated wages what they pleased. . . ." [5] Some seven years later, textile workers in the eastern counties complained that their wages were lowered to such an extent that they were forced "to sell their beds, wheels, and working tools for want of bread. . . ." [6]

OVERSEAS TRADE: As the domestic system of manufacturing expanded, more and more woolen and worsted goods were used in the overseas trade. Here, as in industry and agriculture, a veritable revolution was taking place. Unable to keep pace with the rapidly growing market because of antiquated techniques, the merchant guilds slowly found themselves relegated to the background. The same fate was reserved for Venetian and Hanseatic (North German) merchants whose activities as middlemen in England became less extensive as the sixteenth century advanced and trade routes shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Their place was taken by English business men who were thereafter in a position to direct England's foreign trade.

Local and private traders began to organize themselves into joint-stock companies in order to take advantage of the new situation. These companies, which fused the principle of the guild with that of the partnership, made possible the investment of relatively large amounts of capital drawn from a wide area. In addition, they permitted shareholders to transfer their stock whenever they saw fit. From 1553 to 1680 forty-nine joint stock enterprises were founded with capital investments rising from £10,000 in 1558 to over £4,000,000 in 1695. Among the most important of the joint-stock syndicates were the Muscovy Company (1553)—trading in Russia; the Levant Company (1581)—carrying on a lucrative business in Turkey; the celebrated East India Company (1600)—trading at first in the Spice Islands and later in India proper; and the Virginia Company (1606)—organized for the purpose of colonizing part of the New World. All of these enterprises helped to open up new markets for English clothing, and some of them, despite many vicissitudes, made profitable returns.

At this time no sharp distinction existed between honest trade and piracy. The merchant was always ready to fight his rivals for the right to trade wherever he wanted, while the "gentleman marauder" was ever willing to forsake his profession for the more prosaic business of exchanging commodities. In this twilight zone between legitimate trade and piracy lived the Hawkinses, the Drakes, the Cliffords, and the Warwicks.

Privateering was a much more lucrative business than pure and simple trading. On some of these marauding expeditions a ten-fold and even a hundred-fold return was possible. In 1601 Lord Cecil drew over £7,000 from a venture into which he had put only £700. The backers of Drake's famous voyage around the world (1577-80) made even more—out of a capital investment of £5,000 they secured a treasure worth £600,000. On another expedition Drake made a gross profit of 138 per cent for Queen Elizabeth, his friends, and twenty merchants. Yet, many Englishmen did not consider such a profit satisfactory; Sir Walter Raleigh was of the opinion that 100 per cent was but "a small return" on such a venture and that he was likely to make much more by sending "his ships fishing."

Most privateering expeditions were directed against the Spanish who had already gobbled up the rich mineral fields of America. With poetic justice, English "gentlemen marauders" robbed Spanish galleons of gold and silver which had in turn been stolen by Spaniards from Mexican and Peruvian natives. Combining patriotism with profits, the Elizabethan seadogs singed "the beard of King Philip" by burning and looting everything they could lay their hands on. With a courage worthy of a better cause, they left their enemies quaking with fear. Their savage ruthlessness was well illustrated in the following laconic report made by Thomas Cavendish upon his return to England after a two-year voyage. "I burnt and sunk nineteen ships, both great and small. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoiled." [7]

The marauding expeditions of the Elizabethan seadogs did not lack the ingredients of piety. When four Spanish ships were taken off Brazil on Easter eve, 1587, the English freebooters "gave thanks to God that [they] had sped so well. . . ." [8] Sometimes the waylaying of a vessel was regarded as a manifestation of God's will to disclose Himself and to grant the world's riches to England. When in 1592 Sir John Burgh captured the *Madre de Dios* laden with oriental wares valued at £140,000, a pious narrator of the event saw in it an example of "God's great favor towards our nation; who, by putting this purchase [*i.e.*, prize] into our hands, hath manifestly discovered those secret trades and India riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden and cunningly concealed from us. . . ." [9]

This same piety was exhibited by England's foremost slave trader of the sixteenth century, Sir John Hawkins. This intrepid mariner, who was something of a cross between a trader and a pirate, carried his "good merchandise," as it was described, across the Atlantic on a ship called the *Jesus*. Aboard this vessel the psalms of David, our Father, and the Creed were recited every evening in the English tongue. Amid such religious surroundings the most wretched conditions prevailed. Hundreds of Negroes were herded together in pest-ridden holes. Those fortunate enough died on the way across; the rest were sold into perpetual slavery in the towns of Spanish America. On three different occasions Sir John Hawkins sailed with his human cargo to the New World and on two such the expeditions proved especially profitable. As a result, his chronicler happily wrote, "His name therefore be praised, for evermore! Amen." [10]

THE TUDOR MONARCHY AND THE GROWTH OF MERCHANT CAPITAL

The growth of English merchant capital was made possible not only by trade and industry but also by favorable government action. Especially helpful were the policies introduced by the Tudors (1485-1603) who succeeded in concentrating power in their own hands by allying themselves with the rising bourgeoisie. Since middle class merchants and manufacturers financially supported the Tudor monarchy in its fight against the feudal nobility and the medieval church, much was done by the government to encourage the development of capitalist enterprise.

EXTENDING THE WORKING DAY AND FIXING MAXIMUM WAGES: The Tudors promoted the growth of English merchant capital by the enactment of legislation designed to extend the working day and to fix maximum wages. In 1496, under the first of the Tudor sovereigns, Henry VII, a law was passed which compelled all artificers and field laborers to work from five in the morning to seven and eight in the evening between March and September with one hour off for breakfast, an hour and a half for dinner, and a half hour for "noon meate." In the winter work was to last from five in the morning until dark with the same intervals off. In 1562, under Elizabeth, a law was enacted which left the working day intact, but aimed at limiting time off to two and a half hours a day in summer and to two in the winter. One pence was to be deducted from the laborer's wages for every hour he was absent from work. The government also tried to fix maximum wages. Under Elizabeth, a law entitled the Statutes of Apprentices was passed which decreed a penalty of twenty-one days in prison for any one receiving wages above the maximum and ten days for him who paid them. In the same act Justices of Peace were empowered to modify the fixed wage according to the time of year and the price of goods.

STATE LOANS AND THE LEGALIZATION OF INTEREST: The Tudors also helped the growth of merchant capital by floating state loans. Between 1558 and 1566 Queen Elizabeth, one of the most solvent rulers of her time, borrowed approximately £1,100,000. These government loans were negotiated by the great merchant prince, Sir Thomas Gresham, who served as the Queen's financial agent. On such loans subscribers secured interest as well as principal. As money was relatively scarce and the demand for it great, a careful distinction was made during the age of the Tudors between usury and interest. The former, which consisted of excessively high rates, was still frowned upon, while the latter, which brought with it only modest returns, was justified on the ground of the risks involved. This fine distinction was reflected in the Tudor effort to fix a maximum interest rate. In 1545, an act was passed allowing the taking of interest up to 10 per cent. Though this law was repealed seven years later, it was re-enacted under Elizabeth in 1571. By the end of her reign, most of the English clergy, formerly hostile, accepted the explanation of Miles Mosse, "Minister of the Worde and Bachelor of Divinitee" which justified interest on investments involving risks. In practice, lenders were able to secure more than the prevailing legal rate of 10 per cent even when engaged in transactions with the state itself. On some of the loans made by Gresham Londoners obtained 12 per cent.

CREATION OF A NAVY: The Tudors encouraged the development of English merchant capital not only by legalizing interest rates but also by creating a navy. The English navy was founded and developed at a time when maritime warfare was undergoing important changes. Up to the sixteenth century, the galley ruled the sea. Operated by handpower (the oar), this vessel was not capable of remaining at sea for a long time. It could, however, be easily swung about and as such was well adapted to the inland sea warfare of the time. However, when the arena of history was widened to include oceans, a new kind of ship appeared. This new type was equipped with sails and driven by windpower. It was therefore admirably suited to oceanic warfare because of its great sea endurance. Though able to keep to water for a long time, the great ship or "ship-of-the-line" as it was called, had one glaring defect: poor maneuverability. It was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that this was overcome by the appearance of the steam battleship.

The superiority of the new sailing warship over the old oar-propelled galley was fully recognized by England's great sea king, Henry VIII, who encouraged the construction of powerful ships-of-the-line capable of carrying heavy guns close to their waterline as a result of the introduction of the use of portholes. By the end of his reign, England possessed fifty-three ships of all kinds with a total tonnage of 11,268. In addition to building warships, Henry laid the basis of the Royal Navy by establishing an admiralty office, appointing commissioners, and setting regular salaries for officers and men. If Henry VIII was the founder of the modern English navy, Elizabeth was its guardian angel. Under her encouragement, ships-of-the-line became the backbone of English seapower. Some of these vessels carried fifty-five or sixty guns; one is believed to have had as many as sixty-eight. Between 1578 and 1603, the Royal Navy grew from twenty-four ships of 10,506 tons to forty-two of 17,055.

In the building and maintenance of the navy, substantial profits were made by merchant entrepreneurs. Ships were often built that contained inferior timber and cost the state considerably more than they were worth. In 1583, a Royal Commission was appointed to report on the state of the navy in general and on the construction of two vessels, the *Revenge* and the *Scout*, in particular. It was charged that these two ships, which were built in 1575 at a cost of £4,400, were made "with bad planks . . . of no continuance" and that an offer had been made to construct two similar vessels for only £2,600. Large profits were also made in furnishing supplies to the fleet. A particularly flagrant example in this respect was the Muscovy Company, which boosted the price of cordage and other supplies by 150 per cent to the great advantage of the merchants involved.

In addition to being a source of profit to merchants, the English navy at the time of Elizabeth was the best weapon England had to break the power of Spain. As a result of prior discovery and papal approval, Spain laid claim to most of America. Throughout the sixteenth century, she carried on a lucrative trade with her colonies and became the greatest commercial power in the world. Fundamentally, her pre-eminent position depended upon her ability to monopolize the commerce of her colonies. Accordingly, she was resolved to oppose any attempt on the part of English merchants to establish settlements in America which could be used as bases for illegal trading.

Spain not only threatened England's commercial future in the New World, but also menaced her independence as a nation in the old. When Mary Tudor, queen of England, died in 1558, her husband, Philip II of Spain, claimed the English throne. In back of this claim was Philip's desire to stamp out Protestantism in England and at the same time eliminate a dangerous commercial rival. In his efforts to deprive Elizabeth of her throne and thus impose the rule of Pope and Spaniard, Philip at first used intrigue and diplomacy. These, however, failed largely because the English people rallied to the defense of their queen and country. Hatred of Spain swept England and a long undeclared war was fought on the high seas. English seadogs plundered Spanish treasure ships and pillaged Spanish settlements. In desperation Philip determined to crush the English nation and in 1588 sent a powerful fleet to England. Against "the Invincible Armada" was pitted the relatively small but tactically superior English navy. The battle resulted in an English victory which, in turn, meant the continued existence of England as an independent nation and the beginning of her mastery on the high seas. With Spain no longer able to stop her advance, England was ready to colonize the New World.

WESTWARD HO!

By the opening of the seventeenth century, the English possessed the three elements necessary for colonization—promoters, capital, and settlers. The presence of all three was largely due to the profound changes that had occurred in English life from the middle of the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. The revolution in agriculture and in industry had brought in its wake a considerable number of hard-pressed yeomen and household manufacturers as well as a large army of unemployed farm laborers and artisans. To all of these America beckoned as a land of unlimited opportunity. Similarly, the economic revolution, especially in its commercial phase, had produced an abundant supply of capital. By the opening of the seventeenth century, substantial merchants and wealthy land magnates looked to America to invest their surpluses for the purpose of obtaining larger returns. They were, therefore, ready to promote colonization, that is, to mobilize capital and settlers.

PROMOTING COLONIZATION: Efforts to settle the New World began during the reign of Elizabeth. Behind these endeavors were Richard Hakluyt, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Sir Walter Raleigh. The first of these three men was a humble clergyman who wrote quite extensively on the principal voyages and discoveries of English seamen. Aptly described as "the press-agent of adventure," Hakluyt advised Englishmen to colonize the New World on the ground that such undertakings would enhance their own profit and redound to the glory of England. Gilbert and his half-brother Raleigh followed Hakluyt's advice; the former established a short-lived colony in Newfoundland (1583), while the latter founded an equally unsuccessful settlement on Roanoke Island off the Carolina coast (1585). The ill-fated Roanoke colony cost Raleigh some £40,000.

The failure of Raleigh to plant a colony at Roanoke convinced English promoters that colonization was too vast a venture for the resources of any one man. Hence, as in the case of trading operations mentioned above, joint stock companies were formed and shares sold to outsiders. In this way large sums were raised and successful colonies established. In fact, the first permanent English settlement to be planted in the New World was the work of one of these syndicates, the Virginia Company (1606), whose stock was sold to as many as seven hundred persons. In back of this enterprise were some of the most powerful men in England: Sir Thomas Smith, founder and first governor of the East India Company; the second Earl of Warwick, merchant prince and promoter; and Sir Edwin Sandys, liberal son of a Puritan Archbishop of Canterbury. Up to 1619, the syndicate spent a sum considerably in excess of £50,000. Another trading corporation which established a colony in America was the Massachusetts Bay Company founded in 1629 and backed by a group of substantial Puritan merchants and country squires. This syndicate spent about £200,000 in transporting people and supplies to New England. In addition the early settlers themselves contributed £400,000.

Besides joint stock companies, powerful families promoted the colonization of America. During the early seventeenth century, the Baltimores were particularly conspicuous in this respect. Deriving their wealth mainly from valuable land holdings in Ireland, this family spent from £30,000 to £40,000 upon the settlement of Maryland. They were assisted in their endeavors by a group of associates who invested an additional £20,000.

If English promoters were to profit from their colonizing activities, they needed an abundant supply of labor to exploit the resources of America. Fortunately for them, such a large labor force was at hand. By the opening of the seventeenth century, dissatisfied tenants, needy artisans, and underpaid laborers were ready to go to America. Tenants, who suffered from the enclosure movement and who were weighed down by heavy rents and taxes, artisans who could not earn enough to maintain themselves or their families despite their arduous labor, and farm hands, who worked for less than a subsistence wage and who were exposed to the most drastic punishments for the slightest infraction of the law, were apt to listen seriously to the tempting offers of land and a new start in life made by profit-seeking promoters anxious to attract settlers to the New World. For the most part those who voluntarily left England did so chiefly for economic reasons: the desire to obtain land in America and to make a home for their families. An additional cause of migration was the religious persecution of the times. Many who went to America were religious dissenters who refused to conform to the beliefs and practices of the established Church of England. Persecuted because of their opposition to the Establishment, these people—Separatists, Puritans, Quakers, Baptists, and Catholics—decided to go to a place where they could follow their own conscience and worship in their own way. To induce the migration of such people, promoters like Carteret, Berkeley and Penn, in the course of the seventeenth century, assured prospective settlers religious toleration.

Those promoting colonization not only appealed to hard pressed tenants, craftsmen, and farm hands, but also to unemployed artisans and agricultural laborers. These unfortunate victims of the domestic system of manufacturing and of the enclosure movement were in a state of permanent unemployment. They had no money and so were compelled to beg for a living. For their pains they were hounded by the law. Having no desire to maintain them at "public" expense, the English government readily agreed to allow promoters and others to ship them to America under the terms of a labor contract or indenture. Such a stipulation provided that the promoter or contractor should transport and maintain a servant for a specified period of time during the course of which the servant was bound to work for the master. To obtain laborers under such terms was often difficult and, as a result, contractors not infrequently resorted to kidnaping to achieve their ends. This practice was abetted by the English government which took no serious measures against it until the reign of Charles II.

Thus, the vast majority of those who migrated to America were poor, hard-working people who were eager to build homes, raise families, and cultivate the soil. In a basic sense they were dissenters rebelling against the existing state of society. As such, they longed to be free from restrictions which served only to exploit them. They were the kind of settlers

who were capable of building and maintaining a people's nation.

THE AMERICAN LOCALE

The Atlantic coastal plain, to which these Englishmen came, was a region rich in harbors and waterways, forests, fisheries, and furs. Largely uninhabited, it was ripe for development.

GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES: Geographic factors, such as soil, climate, rainfall, coastline, woodland, and mineral deposits, formed the basis upon which the productive forces of colonial America developed. The first Americans encountered many difficulties. Only after a long and hard fight were they able to gain some control over their physical environment. They had to develop new techniques in order to produce commodities which could be sold in the old country for things they were accustomed to have or vitally needed. Under the circumstances, they had to learn how to cultivate tobacco and how to use best the products of the forest. Although conditioned by the passive forces of geography, the settlers themselves nevertheless determined the direction of their development.

While physical factors did not determine the course of colonial history, they did nevertheless influence it. Of particular importance in this respect was the great coastal plain stretching from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. In New England, this plain was only fifty to eighty miles wide. Its boulder clay soil, though difficult to cultivate, was nevertheless well suited to the production of a variety of grains. Since the climate was harsh and summers were short, the period of cultivation was very limited. On the whole, New England was better fitted for commerce than for agriculture. Its excellent fisheries, superb harbors, and good forests were conducive to shipbuilding and trade, to both of which the New Englander turned with vigor.

While the coastal plain was relatively narrow in New England, in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, it broadened out to cover a hundred miles or more. In this area the soil, free of large stones, was extremely fertile. Here, wheat, barley, and oats could be produced in considerable quantities. In addition, the land was rich in native grasses and thus was good for cattle-raising. The long and unbroken Jersey coast lacked harbors, preventing the people from turning to commerce. Thus, farming and cattle breeding became the dominant activities.

South of Pennsylvania the coastal plain widened to include a two hundred mile area in the Carolinas. This region was fitted for the cultivation of one crop. In the Chesapeake and Albemarle countries, the soil was good for the production of tobacco. Since the summers were long and hot, the period of cultivation was relatively extended. In addition to tobacco, wheat, barley, oats, and corn could be readily produced. Nor was farming the limit of local potentialities; lumber, pitch, and tar for shipbuilding, as well as excellent bays and rivers, favored the development of commerce. The Chesapeake Bay, stretching north and south, formed a natural boulevard from which ran numerous cross-streets in the form of long rivers connecting the hinterland with the coast. Ocean-going vessels were able to sail up the Potomac, Rappahannock, York, and James as far as the fall-line.* From here, in shallops and canoes trappers and traders set forth to the interior to obtain furs for rich Europeans.

Flanking the coastal plain was the Atlantic Ocean on the east and the Appalachian Mountain range on the west, both geographic factors of some significance in influencing colonial history. The Atlantic Ocean separated England from her colonies by three thousand miles of water. Under the circumstances, the first settlers developed different interests and outlooks from those of the ordinary Englishman. Ties of loyalty between colony and metropolis were weakened by distance in time as well as in space. It took one to two months to cross the Atlantic and sometimes as much as a year to book passage. Under the circumstances, communications between England and her colonies were very poor. Colonial legislatures took advantage of this fact by putting their laws into operation at once pending royal approval. It took from a year to a year and a half before news reached them of the king's decision. If the law were disallowed, the assembly could re-enact the legislation in a slightly different form and await a repetition of the above procedure. In addition to passengers and dispatches, merchandise and tools came across the Atlantic. These articles were essential to the development of colonial enterprise and tremendously aided in establishing an improved standard of living.

Beyond the coastal plain was the Appalachian Range. Stretching from Vermont to Alabama and covered by forests and dense underbrush, this thirteen hundred mile barrier was broken at only one point, the natural depression formed by the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. From this point trails led into the interior, to the Mohawk and Genessee rivers. From there they proceeded to the upper Alleghany from which point the Ohio and the Mississippi could be reached. Whoever controlled this communication network controlled the fur trade. Thus, the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, gateways to the Northwest, were of great strategic importance. Consequently, they became one of the major bones of contention between the English and French in America, an area to be held at all costs. The great Appalachian barrier influenced colonial history in still another way. Its parallel ranges, some three hundred miles across, operated against wide expansion from the coastal plain. By confining the English colonists to the land bordering the Atlantic, the Appalachian Mountains promoted the establishment of compact settlements so useful in the wars against the French.

INDIAN INFLUENCES: The country between the Atlantic Ocean and the Appalachian Range was already inhabited when the English came to America. From Maine to Georgia Indian aborigines were to be found living in tribes some of which, like those of the Iroquois, were organized into confederations. Averaging about two inhabitants to the square mile, the Indians along the coastal plain numbered a little over one hundred thousand at the opening of the seventeenth century. They were engaged in hunting, fishing, and farming. In fact, the Iroquois possessed considerable skill in agriculture. Stone axes were used to clear the fields and hoes were employed to cultivate the land. The actual tilling of the soil was left to women who were organized into groups under the direction of supervisors. The needy received food which was produced in fields claimed by the village as a whole. In addition, the less fortunate were given supplies which went beyond the immediate needs of individual families. Thus, a kind of primitive communism prevailed.

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* This is the line of junction of the Tidewater region or eastern section and the Piedmont or foothill region to the westward.

The early English settlers borrowed much from the Indians. In the first place, they took from the natives such domesticated plants as corn, cotton, peanuts, pumpkins, squashes, potatoes, tobacco, beans, and tomatoes. They likewise adopted the Indian method of planting corn, beans, and potatoes in hills and piling the earth around the stalks. Secondly, the English Americans copied native methods of transporation. Canoes were used for travel into the interior where a lucrative fur trade was carried on. Toboggans were employed to drag heavy loads over snow-covered fields, while snowshoes were used to obtain a surer footing. Thirdly, the English settlers learned from the Indians how to hunt and trap game, signal with smoke columns and prepare popcorn and other foods. They likewise acquired the Indian art of treating animal skins to make moccasins and buckskin clothing. Lastly, the Indians exerted an influence upon the English language itself. Such Indian words as succotash, skunk, raccoon, opossum, and woodchuck were adopted by the English settlers who also used Indian names to describe rivers and lakes.

The natives also influenced the fighting habits of the settlers who soon realized that the Indian methods of creeping through the underbrush to surprise the enemy and of hiding behind trees when fighting were vastly superior to the prevailing European tactics of marching men in columns and fighting in the open. They also came to recognize the value of the Indian tactic of deploying in small bands.

The ability of the Indians as fighters saved them from mass enslavement. Had they been like the natives of Spanish America their fate would undoubtedly have been similar because of the colonists' great need for labor. The English obtained some Indian slaves through kidnaping, purchase, and war. The number of such chattel laborers, however, was small in proportion to the rest of the population. One factor militating against the greater use of native slave labor was the settlers' wholesome fear of Indian reprisals. This fear moved some New England legislatures to pass laws requiring the sale of captive Indian slaves outside of their respective colonies. Dread of Indian retaliation also led colonial assemblies to enact legislation designed to stop Englishmen from buying natives from friendly tribes and from engaging in kidnaping expeditions.

English exploitation of the Indian population was accomplished more through the fur trade than through enslavement. Indians readily sold quantities of good beaver, raccoon, fox, and mink, in exchange for hoes, axes, beads, rum, and guns. Since the costs of obtaining pelts were relatively low and fur prices in Europe comparatively high, profits often ran to 100 per cent. Gradually the natives came to understand the value of the furs they were selling and began demanding higher prices. Unscrupulous fur traders then introduced in their bargaining false weights and measures. As the fur trade developed, the natives became increasingly dependent upon it, and this, in turn, fostered the continuance of a nomadic life. Under the circumstances, tribes frequently came into conflict with one another and, as a result, firearms became increasingly important. Since the Indians could obtain these weapons only in exchange for furs, they were caught in the vicious circle of the white man's wiles. As the fur traffic developed, competition became intense not only among the Indians but also among the white traders. Particularly sharp was the rivalry between the English and the French, a rivalry which furnished one of the basic reasons for the struggles between the two in America.

From the very beginning a fierce struggle took place between the Indians and English settlers. The wars that were fought assumed the aspect of wars of extermination. In a basic sense, they were brought about by the encroachment of the colonists upon land held by the natives. This encroachment represented a serious threat to the Indians' means of subsistence. Depending mainly upon hunting and fishing and using primitive tools, the natives needed a great deal of land to support a relatively small population. Thus, as the English settlers moved westward, the Indians fought back. The situation was further aggravated by rival European powers which used the Indians as pawns in the game of territorial and commercial aggrandizement, and by colonial fur traders and land speculators who played upon the gullibility of the natives. Cheated and tricked, bribed and provoked, the Indians took to the warpath, plundering and ravaging everything in sight. The settlers fought back as best they could, and whenever they felt themselves sufficiently strong took the offensive. Neither side conceded anything to the other with the result that cruelty, deception, and ruthlessness prevailed.

CHAPTER II

EARLY COLONY BUILDING, 1607–1660

> *"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten . . . doe by these presents . . . covenant and combine our selves togeather in a civill body politick . . . and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie. . . ."*
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> —THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT, November 11-21, 1620

DURING the early seventeenth century, thousands of English emigrants made their way to America. Amid unparalleled hardships and bitter disappointments, they devoted themselves to the task of building colonies and within less than sixty years (1607-60), they succeeded in establishing six thriving provinces, two in the South and four in New England. In all of these settlements a flourishing economy based on agriculture prevailed and the groundwork for democratic institutions was laid.

THE TOBACCO COLONIES OF THE SOUTH

FOUNDING OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND: The colonization of Virginia began with the settlement of Jamestown. The enterprise, which was backed by the powerful London Company, was from the beginning a practical commercial undertaking. The venture was designed to obtain immediate profits through the discovery of gold and a northwest passage to the Indies. In December, 1606, the company sent about one hundred and twenty emigrants to America. Arriving in Virginia the following year, they established themselves at Jamestown and without much delay began to look for gold. Accordingly, they found

little time to establish the basis for a really permanent settlement. Had it not been for the timely arrival of additional settlers and supplies the small colony would have disappeared. Subsequently, it was placed upon a firm footing as a result of the vigorous leadership of a bold and enterprising soldier of fortune, Captain John Smith. Though the search for gold and a new route to India continued, less emphasis was placed upon such efforts and more upon the cultivation of the soil and the building of homes.

Twenty-seven years after the settlement of Jamestown, Maryland began its existence as a colony with the establishment of tiny St. Mary's. Behind the Maryland enterprise was Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. Two considerations led him to promote this venture: hope of increasing his worldly fortune and a desire to establish a haven of refuge for his Catholic coreligionists. Accordingly, Calvert decided to erect a feudal principality in Maryland as provided for in the charter granted to him in 1632 by Charles I. According to the terms of his patent, Baltimore was empowered to sublet lands to vassals, erect manors, bestow titles of honor, create manorial courts, hear cases, and establish towns. Although lord proprietor in Maryland, Calvert was a vassal of the king. As such, he was obliged to take an oath of fealty and to pay a nominal rent annually.

By this charter Charles I consciously attempted to establish feudalism in America. In turn, Lord Baltimore did all in his power to create a feudal principality in Maryland. He encouraged the erection of some sixty manors exclusive of those laid out by himself and his relatives. On these manors, courts were held, land reserved for the use of the lord and quitrents collected from tenants freeing them from certain services. As in feudal times, the Maryland lords of the manor were obliged to take an oath of loyalty to their overlord and to stand ready to advise him in council. While Baltimore did not try to collect reliefs from his vassals, he nevertheless exercised the right of escheat, that is, the right to reclaim land because of the failure of the heirs to fulfill their obligations. Yet, in spite of these and other efforts, he was in the long run unable to establish a feudal principality in Maryland. In fact, by 1660 and possibly even before this, he was abandoning the practice of issuing patents creating manorial rights.

Three factors weighed against the establishment of feudalism in seventeenth-century America. In the first place, land was so plentiful that it could be had for the asking. Thus, few settlers would be willing to become or remain serfs. Since an adequate supply of serf labor would be lacking, manorialism, the economic base of feudalism, was impossible. Secondly, the character of the settlers was not such as to favor the imposition of outmoded institutions. Those who came to the New World were on the contrary recruited mainly from the very classes which were attempting to escape feudal exploitation. And, finally, the proprietors were themselves too practical minded to jeopardize their chances of making money by attempting to impose a system their settlers were not willing to accept. To have done so would have meant either losing many through migration or spending money on military operations to achieve a hollow victory.

Although feudalism itself was not established in America, some feudal hangovers did make their way across the ocean. Among these were primogeniture, entail, and quitrents. The first of these survivals gave the eldest son the sole right to inherit his father's estate; the second prevented any one from bequeathing land to unspecified heirs; and the last freed the landholder from all services to the overlord except the payment of a nominal sum. Of these three feudal remnants the last one provoked the sharpest conflicts. Throughout the colonial period, the collection of quitrents was accompanied by bitter struggles, some of which assumed the proportions of armed insurrections. During the American Revolution, a number of states abolished these rents along with the other outmoded practices of primogeniture and entail.

THE TOBACCO ECONOMY: The early settlers of the Chesapeake region were more concerned with the problem of finding a product to sell in England than with putting into practice the grandiose plans of promoters three thousand miles away. Fortunately for them, tobacco served this purpose. Its cultivation began in Virginia in 1612 and within a few years tobacco was being planted in preference to other crops. Tobacco was cheaper to produce than wheat or corn because of the moist and sandy top-soil of the tidewater. In addition, its cash return per acre was much greater because it brought higher prices in proportion to its weight than other crops. For instance, in 1624, tobacco sold at three shillings a pound, while grain brought only two shillings a bushel. Since a man's labor power brought a six times larger return in tobacco than in grain, the early settlers of Virginia turned increasingly to the production of the more profitable crop. The area of tobacco cultivation was extended to Maryland when that colony was founded in the 1630's. By 1664, the settlements which bordered Chesapeake Bay were producing between them 25,000,000 pounds of tobacco annually. Two years later, as many as one hundred ships were needed to export one-half of the yield.

Primitive methods were used in tobacco cultivation. Since land was cheap and labor dear, Virginia and Maryland planters butchered the soil. No precautions were taken to rotate the crop or use manures. The same patch of land was employed for three or four years after which it had to be abandoned because of the depletion of such necessary elements as nitrogen and potash. Thus, it was always necessary to clear new lands.

Tobacco production required the employment of many hands. Up to 1660, these were mainly recruited from the ranks of underpaid and unemployed English workers. Since these poverty-stricken laborers did not possess the £6 to £10 needed to cross the ocean, they were forced to sign articles of indenture; that is, they agreed to make that sum good by working from four to five years after reaching the colony. Their principal task was to clear the land and till the soil, occupations which exacted a comparatively high mortality toll. After their period of servitude, these contract laborers were given grain, clothing, and other articles estimated to be worth £10. In addition, Maryland offered them fifty acres of land free of charge, while Virginia was ready to sell them land at a nominal cost. Given such opportunities, freed servants were often able to rise socially, some of them even attaining prominent positions in the community. For example, about 16 per cent of the members of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1629 were former servants and approximately 43 per cent in 1662. During these years, England did everything to encourage the emigration of such laborers and, as a result, large numbers were shipped across the ocean. Virginia alone imported a total ranging from 37,500 to 50,000 from 1635 to 1660.

In addition to white servants from England, the planters of the Chesapeake area obtained Negro slaves from Africa.* The latter were first introduced into Virginia in 1619 when twenty were landed from a Dutch slave trader. Despite this early effort, there were only 1,500 Negroes in the colony some forty-four years later, an insignificant number in comparison with the total population in general and English contract laborers in particular. Negro slave labor was relatively unimportant down to the Stuart Restoration of 1660 because the Chesapeake planters found it difficult to obtain Negroes inasmuch as the English did not control the slave trade. That traffic was in the hands of the Dutch who were accustomed to bring their "merchandise" first to the West Indies and then, if any were left over, to Virginia and Maryland. Under the circumstances, not many slaves were obtained. After 1660, however, English merchants became interested in the African trade. Under the leadership of the Duke of York, later to become James II, a company was formed which was strong enough to secure a footing on the Guinea coast. Accordingly, it was able to supply Chesapeake tobacco growers with a steady stream of chattels.

Virginia and Maryland used the head right system of land distribution in order to encourage the importation of labor. Under it, anyone who came to the New World at his own expense or helped bring someone else over was given fifty acres. By importing servants and slaves, some of the wealthier planters acquired sizeable estates. Large holdings, however, were exceptional during the early seventeenth century because of the poverty of most of the settlers and the relative scarcity of labor. Without sufficient laborers, there was no real reason to obtain large tracts of land since such land could not be put under cultivation. It is estimated that at least 65 per cent of the freeholders of the Chesapeake colonies did not have servants

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* Originally no distinct line existed between slaves and indentured servants. It was not until about 1660 that Virginia recognized the institution of slavery.

or slaves, a fact of the greatest importance in keeping farms comparatively small. It was not until after 1660, when a steady supply of Negro slave labor was assured, that the tendency toward larger holdings was really given an impetus.

During the period down to the Restoration, Chesapeake planters received fairly good returns on the tobacco they produced. Enjoying a virtual monopoly in the English market and having free access to the European, Southern growers were in an advantageous position. Since they were able to dispose of their tobacco without hindrance, they produced it in ever increasing quantities. Even when production began to outstrip consumption and prices fell, the tobacco planters were still able to make profits owing largely to relatively low production costs and transportation rates. A brisk trade was carried on not only with England and Holland but also with New England and the West Indies.

DEMOCRATIC BEGINNINGS: The cultivation of tobacco was of the greatest importance also in shaping the political life of the Chesapeake region. Its production was intimately connected with the development of democratic institutions in Virginia as well as with the establishment of that colony as a royal province. In the early years of the Virginia settlement, the London Company tried to make money by furthering the output of glass, silk, and wine—products which it knew England wanted. But these efforts failed largely because the Virginians themselves found it more profitable to grow tobacco. Since this crop could be produced cheaply and since it had a market in England, it was planted everywhere. Within five years after its introduction in 1612, tobacco was being cultivated in the streets of Jamestown.

By 1617 leading members of the London Company came to the conclusion that the gold they had been looking for in Virginia was to be found in the production of the "obnoxious weed." The more tobacco produced the greater the returns. So, they decided to encourage the production of tobacco by offering the Virginia settlers such incentives as land and self government.

Accordingly, in 1618, Sir Edwin Sandys, treasurer of the London Company, persuaded the syndicate to appoint Sir George Yeardley governor of the colony with instructions to put into practice what Professor William E. Dodd has called "the first democratic constitution that was ever applied in North America."[1] The following year, the new governor granted a hundred acres of land to every settler who had come to Virginia prior to 1616 and fifty to every one who had arrived after that date. He also issued a call for the election of twenty representatives, two from each of the ten plantations, as the districts were designated. This assembly, called the House of Burgesses, met at Jamestown in the summer of 1619 and sitting with the governor and council passed a number of laws.

The company's concessions to democracy bore fruit: by 1620, it has been estimated, 55,000 pounds of tobacco were being exported annually from Virginia. James I, who was attempting at the time to make himself financially independent of Parliament, laid a duty of a shilling a pound on company tea. On the ground that the king had no right to levy taxes without Parliamentary consent, the syndicate, under the leadership of the liberal Sandys, shipped the whole crop to Holland. James was furious at the loss of this anticipated income. He ordered the stockholders of the company to "Choose the Devil Treasurer . . . but not Sir Edwin Sandys." The stockholders yielded only to the extent of electing a follower of Sandys to the office of treasurer. In the meantime, warehouses were opened in Holland and plans were made to ship Virginia tobacco there. The whole London Company was now violently attacked. In 1624 James I seized upon a pretext to annul the syndicate's charter. The king, however, did nothing to disturb the political framework in Virginia except to provide that thereafter the governor and his council were to be appointed by the Crown.

The arrangement of 1624 insured a continuance of self government in Virginia. It is true that the council, or "upper house," consisted almost exclusively of large planters proposed by the governor and named by the king. Despite the source of their appointment, however, the councilors, at least at this early stage, were ready to unite with the House of Burgesses to defend colonial rights against the despotism of reactionary governors. This body, elected by the freemen, spoke for the colony as a whole. Its consent was necessary before laws were enacted or taxes levied. Accordingly, it was a powerful instrument in the hands of the people who could use it to defend themselves against the encroachment of the English Crown and wealthy colonial planters.

The unity of the two Houses was well illustrated while Sir John Harvey was governor of Virginia. This admirer of Charles I, appointed in 1629, supported Lord Baltimore when in the early 'thirties he claimed Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay. Harvey did this despite the fact that long before Baltimore had received his patent, William Claiborne, a wealthy planter and member of the council, had established a trading post on the island. In fact, by 1634, Kent Island was a thriving settlement with about one hundred inhabitants and was represented in the House of Burgesses at Jamestown. When the controversy over the island broke out, the council refused to follow the governor's leadership. It sided with Claiborne by declaring that Kent Island belonged to Virginia. Harvey countered by ordering the arrest of a member of the council and the removal of Claiborne as secretary of the colony. This was the last straw. In 1635, hundreds of armed men, led by Samuel Mathews, a former indentured servant, seized the governor and sent him back to England to answer charges brought against him by the colony. Meanwhile, John West, a liberal, was appointed acting governor by the council with the approval of the House of Burgesses.

About three years after the rebellion of 1635, the planters of Virginia were faced with their first major economic crisis. In 1638, the amount of tobacco shipped to London was twice as large as the average for other years. Prices went down so low that marginal producers in Virginia were unable to maintain themselves. In desperation, they turned to the legislature for assistance. Accordingly, the assembly passed a drastic measure which sought to raise prices by restricting output. An agreement was made to limit the crops of 1639, 1640, and 1641 to 1,200,000 pounds of good quality tobacco. Inspectors were appointed to see to it that inferior tobacco was destroyed and one-half of each planter's crop burned. In addition, the legislature set a minimum price of twelve pence a pound for the 1640 crop and two shillings for the 1641 output. Since these price-fixing measures were at variance with the interests of London merchants, they were not approved by the English authorities.

In England far-reaching events were taking place. Charles I, who was desperately in need of money because of a rebellion in Scotland, finally decided to call Parliament after eleven years of personal rule. That body, however, refused to vote the sums needed unless the king conceded the right of Parliament to levy taxes, impeach royal officials, and meet at least once every three years. Charles was forced to agree. In 1642, however, he provoked the House of Commons by ordering the arrest of five of its leading members. Parliament responded by calling all Englishmen to arms. Merchants, manufacturers, small landowners, shopkeepers, and artisans flocked to the side of Parliament, while country squires, prominent Anglican prelates, and most of the nobility rallied to the standard of the King. Because the Cavaliers, the aristocratic followers of Charles I, wore their hair in long curls, they dubbed their plebeian opponents who preferred closely cropped hair Roundheads. In the ensuing conflict, the Roundheads, led by Oliver Cromwell, a stern Puritan, were able to hammer into shape a people's army which carried the battle to the enemy and finally forced Charles to surrender in 1646. Three years later, the revolutionary forces were in full control of the country; the king was beheaded, the monarchy and House of Lords abolished, and a republic established.

The democratic elements in the Chesapeake region, made up mostly of small planters with a sprinkling of large ones, were encouraged to renewed activity by the events in England. In 1647 and 1648, progressive Virginians, led by the rebels of 1635—Claiborne, Mathews, and West—declared their solidarity with and adherence to the parliamentary forces in old England. In doing this, they openly challenged the governor of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, a confirmed royalist, who had arrived in the colony the very year the Civil War broke out in England. Through skillful political maneuvering, Berkeley was able to prevail upon Virginia to recognize Charles II as king, when news reached the colony that Charles I had been executed. The triumph of the reactionary governor, however, was short-lived. Faced by a powerful English fleet as well as by internal opposition, Berkeley was forced to resign his post in 1652, and Virginia obtained "such freedoms and privileges as do belong to the freeborn people of England." Claiborne was chosen secretary of the colony and Bennet governor. Religious freedom was proclaimed, the right of all freemen to vote was recognized, and the selection of a governor and a council left to the House of Burgesses. For eight years, Virginia was practically an independent republic united with the mother country only by a pledge of loyalty.

As in Virginia, so in Maryland, the English Revolution advanced the cause of democracy. Lord Baltimore, as a Catholic and a holder of a royal fief, was doubly suspect to the revolutionary party in England. To placate both it and the people of Maryland, he appointed as governor in 1648, William Stone, a Puritan leader of Northampton county. He also recommended the passage of the Toleration Act of 1649, which guaranteed freedom of conscience to all Christians. These concessions, however, did not go far enough. What Maryland wanted was a representative assembly chosen by the freemen of the colony irrespective of wealth, instead of the old primary assembly of citizens. That institution was objectionable to the small planters because they could not afford the time or money needed to attend its sessions. They were thus compelled to assign their proxies to others—a practice which tended to concentrate votes in the hands of wealthy planters. Baltimore, who was aware of his precarious situation, agreed to replace the older assembly with a representative body which was to meet separately and have the power to initiate legislation.

Yet, in spite of these concessions, the democratic elements in Maryland, composed largely of working farmers and freed servants, were not satisfied. They were especially anxious to get rid of the lord proprietor and such practices as quitrent collections, the increasing concentration of land ownership and high prices on imported goods. By 1654, they were in control of the assembly. Urging union with Virginia, the Maryland radicals organized an army which later defeated the forces sent against them. The victorious people then arrested Governor Stone, executed four leaders of the counter-revolution, and confiscated property. For the edification of the proprietary family, one of the leaders of the insurrection wrote an account of the events with the graphic title *Babylon's Fall: A Fair*

Warning to Lord Baltimore. The Maryland proprietor, however, needed little warning. Fully aware of the danger, he turned for help to a group of powerful London merchants who looked with disfavor upon all colonial strife which interfered with trade. These merchants, who were close to Cromwell, saw to it in 1657 that Baltimore obtained a decision which upheld his proprietary rights. To appease the people of Maryland, the proprietor appointed a liberal, Josias Fendall, as governor. Unfortunately for Lord Baltimore, the new governor allied himself with the radical majority in the assembly. When in 1660 that body declared Maryland to be a republic, Fendall supported the move. In the meantime, Charles II was restored to the throne of his father and a royal order was quickly obtained denouncing Fendall's revolt and directing the colony to acknowledge the sway of the lord proprietor.

While the people of Maryland were battling to establish democratic institutions, poverty-stricken farmers were moving from the Virginia borderlands to the Albemarle Country of North Carolina. Here, in the early 1650's, they took up land, built homes, and planted crops. Toward the close of the decade, a settlement dedicated to freedom and equality was established by George Durant on the banks of the Chowan River. This small community was not disturbed by such restrictions as quitrents, ministers' fees, and strict Sabbath laws. On the north, swamp land protected it from Virginia tax collectors, while on the south the friendly Tuscaroras guarded it from hostile Indian attacks. Facing the calm waters of Albemarle Sound, this tiny republic in the wilderness peacefully traded with Dutch and New England merchants.

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND: While the southern colonies were developing a tobacco economy and democratic institutions, New England was being settled. In 1620, the first permanent colony was established there by a small band of Pilgrims about a third of whom originally came from Scrooby village in northern England. There, shortly after the turn of the century, they had organized an independent church. Believing that each congregation should select its own minister and manage its affairs without any interference from bishop or king, these poor farmers and agricultural laborers separated themselves from the established Church of England. Because of their temerity they were persecuted by the local authorities, who made life so miserable for them that they eventually left for Holland (1607-08).

After a short stay in Amsterdam, the Pilgrim Separatists moved to the university town of Leyden. Here, they engaged in trade and handicraft industry, but despite hard work earned little. Finally, in 1620, some thirty-two of them gave up the unequal struggle and set out for America. They looked forward to improving their lot, preserving their English customs, and spreading their religious views. They left Leyden for England and re-embarked along with seventy other Pilgrims. After a long and stormy crossing they came to Cape Cod. Just before they landed on the western side of the bay, they drew up the famous "Mayflower Compact," in which they agreed to set up "a civill body politick" to enact laws and elect officials.

The colony of Plymouth began its existence with this expression of self-reliance and democratic co-operation. The settlement soon produced enough food to maintain itself. It also carried on a profitable trade with the Indians. In 1621, the colony obtained title to the land it was using in a patent issued by the Council for New England. Nine years later it was granted a definite territory. In the meantime, the settlers occupied the region around Plymouth so that by 1640 the colony included ten towns. Owing to this expansion, the primary assembly of all citizens was replaced in 1639 by a representative assembly consisting of deputies from each town. This body, together with the governor and assistants, formed the General Court which had the power to levy taxes and enact laws. Once every year the freemen of the colony met to elect the governor, assistants and other officers.

While the people of Plymouth were establishing new towns, other vigorous spirits were founding the colony of Massachusetts Bay. The great majority, in this instance, crossed the ocean for economic rather than religious reasons. At the time of the migration, a severe economic depression, caused by the closing of European markets to English goods on account of the Thirty Years War (1618-48), was gripping the eastern and southeastern counties of England. Especially hard hit were the people who made their living in the cloth industry. Many of them, unable to find work, were reduced to utter destitution. Others who were still employed saw their already meager purchasing power shrink as bad crops caused food prices to rise. Such adverse conditions made hard-pressed traders, poorly paid craftsmen and unemployed laborers look to America for a new start in life. Similarly, certain members of the landed gentry, among them John Winthrop, father of the Bay settlement and a Puritan of Puritans, were ready to go to the New World to recoup their losses and maintain their standard of living. Thus, among the Puritan Fathers themselves material considerations served to encourage migration.

The leaders of the Massachusetts venture, though, were also moved to go to America because of their dissatisfaction with political and religious conditions prevailing in old England. In 1629, the very year in which the Massachusetts charter was granted, Charles I dissolved Parliament and for eleven years ruled without it. The king used every expedient at his command to raise money. As a result, he dug deeply into the pockets of middle-class Puritans who tried to protect themselves against arbitrary exactions by championing the cause of Parliament. Furthermore, the policies of Charles I threatened not only Puritan purses but Puritan souls. The king, by appointing pro-Catholic clergymen to high offices in the Anglican Church, left the door wide open to the introduction of what the Puritans called "popish" practices and dogmas. To make matters worse, Charles eased the laws against the Catholics, but enforced those against the Puritans. Such religious and political policies thoroughly antagonized a number of Puritan leaders who turned hopefully to New England. There, three thousand miles away, they could look forward to erecting a model commonwealth—"a bulwark against the Kingdom of anti-Christ." In this promised land they would be free to exercise their talents for political leadership.

Moved by such thoughts, John Winthrop and other prominent Puritans agreed to go to New England. However, they wanted one guarantee: control of the government of the colony. In 1629 an agreement to this effect was made at Cambridge, England. Subsequently, Winthrop was chosen governor and the charter was transferred to Massachusetts. In 1630, about one thousand hard-working men and women sailed for New England where they settled in villages which were later to become the towns of Boston, Charlestown, Medford, Lynn, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Watertown.

Although few emigrants arrived during the next two years, a considerable number came thereafter. By 1640, Massachusetts had a population of 14,000, while two of her offshoots, Connecticut and Rhode Island, had an additional 2,300. It would be misleading, however, to assume that this movement of the English people, which took place in the 'thirties, was either confined to New England or exclusively Puritan. On the contrary, as the historian James T. Adams has pointed out, thousands of Englishmen migrated to the so-called non-Puritan colonies of Virginia and Barbados, contributing to the great increase in population which occurred in both of those provinces. Between 1630 and 1640, the number of people in Virginia rose from 3,000 to 8,000 and in Barbados from 1,600 to 18,600. Besides, even among the emigrants who did go to Massachusetts, only a very small fraction were Puritan in the strict sense of being church members.

However, Charles I viewed the exodus to New England with some concern, for he naturally feared the establishment of a powerful commonwealth ruled over by his political opponents. Therefore, he resolved to regain the charter which had been taken to Massachusetts, and in 1634 started proceedings against the settlers. When the courts rendered a decision in his favor, the leaders of the Bay Colony prepared to resist by force the surrender of the charter. They appropriated £600 for fortifications and appointed a committee to supervise military matters. The incipient rebellion, however, did not take place largely because Charles I decided not to force the issue.

THE PEOPLE'S FIGHT AGAINST THE PURITAN THEOCRACY: In order to maintain their authority, the Puritan leaders of Massachusetts were ready to fight not only England but also the colonists. From the beginning, Winthrop and his associates were determined to remain in power. They had reasons for wanting to keep authority in their own hands. In the first place, they had to safeguard their own economic interests. Many of them were stockholders of the Massachusetts Bay Company and as such they at least wanted to preserve their original investment and at best to obtain profits from it. Being men of means, they were afraid that if the masses were permitted to control the government their property might be jeopardized. In the second place, the Puritan leaders of the Bay Colony wanted to control the government in order to establish a model theocracy. Many of them went to the New World with the intention of creating a Bible Commonwealth in which politics and religion should be one. Public office was to be bestowed upon the person best qualified to interpret the Scriptures, especially the Old Testament, which contained everything there was to know in the fields of politics and ethics. In this theocratic state the chief function of the civil magistrate was the preservation of religion and morality.

The Puritan theocrats had an aristocratic contempt for the people. According to John Winthrop, "the best part [was] always the least, and of that best part the wiser part [was] always the lesser." [2] Holding such a view, he came to the conclusion that democracy was "among civill nations, accounted the meanest & worst of all formes of Governm't." [3] The Reverend John Cotton expressed virtually the same thought when he declared that he could not conceive of a democracy as being "a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth." To put an end to all debate, he quizzically asked, "If the people be governors, who shall be governed?" [4] Like the concept of democracy, the idea of religious toleration was alien to the Massachusetts leaders. Their Bible Commonwealth required a unity of believers and so those who prayed to a different God or who prayed to the same God in a different way were looked upon as persons dangerous to the state. To tolerate them would invite heresy and atheism.

Since they held such views, the leaders of the Bay Colony had to take active measures to perpetuate their power. At first, they restricted the right to enact laws and elect officials to those stockholders of the company who were then living in Massachusetts. This meant that out of a population of 2,000 in 1631 sixteen to twenty had the right to vote, a prospect thoroughly at variance with the wishes of the settlers. Accordingly, over one hundred of them demanded the franchise. The ruling clique granted the demand because it feared that these people would otherwise leave the colony or stay only to foment trouble. To prevent a similar occurrence in the future, church membership was made a prerequisite for voting. This measure was designed by the governing group to maintain its authority and at the same time establish a thoroughgoing theocratic state. Now, the right to vote was restricted to a small minority composed largely of the upper and middle classes. One authority, James T. Adams, holds that only one out of every five adult males possessed the franchise in Massachusetts, while another, Samuel E. Morison, thinks that the proportion who had the vote was usually more than this.

At the beginning the freemen of the colony were all members of the General Court which made the laws and levied taxes. Later on (1634) this primary assembly of the citizens gave way to a representative body which consisted of two or three deputies elected from each town. Eventually, the General Court broke up into two houses—the lower consisting of deputies and the upper composed of the assistants and the governor. The assistants were usually drawn from the richest families in the colony and were customarily re-elected year after year. They consequently acted as a check on the more representative house which in turn served as a brake on the unenfranchised masses.

The theocratic leaders of the Bay Colony, having established themselves in power through measures designed to curb the will of the people, were aware of the political dangers confronting them. Under no illusions with respect to the loyalty of the masses, they made it their business to prevent the crystallization of popular discontent by silencing all who were bold enough to challenge their authority. Among the first to feel the edge of their fury was Roger Williams, one of the most progressive thinkers of the seventeenth century.

Williams, who took to heart the revolutionary ideals underlying both the Separatist and Leveler movements, believed in the compact theory of the state, the doctrine of popular sovereignty and the conception of the government as an instrument to advance the best interests of the people at large. Tracing the origin of society to social necessity, he set forth the idea that the state arose for the mutual protection of all. Sovereignty was vested in the citizenry as a whole acting in a political capacity. Since the people were sovereign, they could establish that form of government which served their interests best. In the last analysis, the power exercised by any such government was limited by the social compact which created it. As Williams put it, "... a People may erect and establish what *forme* of *Government* seemes to them most meete for their *civill condition:* It is evident that such *Governments*... have no more *power*... then [sic] the ... people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with." [5] Since governments were instituted for the purpose of advancing communal well being, Williams contended that every citizen should be given the largest measure of freedom. Accordingly, he believed in the separation of church and state, and condemned the Puritan practice of punishing people for idolatry, blasphemy, and Sabbath-breaking.

Nor did the democratic-minded Williams overlook the grievances of the Indians. He asserted that the land belonged to them, and to be legally held, it had to be purchased from the natives at a fair price. Under no circumstances did the king have the right to dispose of it.

These doctrines were packed with enough political dynamite to blow the Puritan state to bits. To forestall any such eventuality, Roger Williams was banished from the colony. In 1636, he and five of his friends reached the present site of Providence and there founded the colony of Rhode Island. Some years later settlements were established at Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick. In 1644, the English government granted the four Rhode Island towns permission to form a union, which they did three years later. The newly organized confederation was true to the democratic principles of Roger Williams. The freeholders of the colony had the right to elect annually the governor, assistants and deputies, propose legislation (the initiative) and accept or reject laws passed by the assembly (the referendum). Furthermore, liberty of conscience was guaranteed by the confederated towns.

Shortly after Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts, the saints of the Bay Colony found themselves involved in a new controversy. This time they were opposed by Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of outstanding ability who took it upon herself to explain the sermons of the Puritan ministry. Possessing a magnetic personality and brilliant mind, she attracted a large following among whom were such influential and distinguished men as John Cotton, the leading Puritan divine, and Sir Harry Vane, a popular young man who was elected governor of Massachusetts in 1636. During her lectures Mistress Anne had the temerity to criticize a number of Puritan clergymen and to imply that she was directly in communication with God. In 1637, a synod of ministers was held and the "Antinomian" teachings of Mrs. Hutchinson condemned. In the same year, Governor Vane was defeated for re-election by conservative John Winthrop. Since the ministers felt that God's kingdom in New England was endangered, Anne Hutchinson was hailed before the General Court to explain her doctrines. The hearing was presided over by Winthrop who acted as judge and prosecutor. The defendant was not given the right of counsel. Witnesses produced on her behalf were intimidated, while she herself was insulted and forced to give testimony designed to convict her. Despite this mockery of justice, Mrs. Hutchinson stood her ground. When she was sentenced to banishment, she asked the Court to explain its action. Winthrop, the presiding judge, replied: "Say no more, the court knows wherefore and is satisfied." [6] With this, Mrs. Hutchinson and her family were forced to leave the colony and many of her followers were fined or disenfranchised for the greater glory of the orthodox reactionary party.

Like Roger Williams and Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, Thomas Hooker found the Massachusetts climate of opinion too restricted to suit him. This Puritan liberal, who was opposed to theocratic reaction on one hand and leveling radicalism on the other, used his church in Newtown, Massachusetts, to encourage democratic unrest. The people of Newtown, under the influence of his oratory, became so "jealous of their liberties" that they asked the General Court for permission to move to Connecticut. In addition to "the strong bent of their spirits," they cited as a reason for their removal a desire to obtain new land. After some delay, they were permitted to leave. Accordingly, in 1636, they followed Hooker into the wilderness and after many hardships reached Hartford. Here they found a small settlement which had been established the year before, together with Wethersfield and Windsor, by a number of Massachusetts emigrants. Like Hooker and his congregation, they had moved westward in search of land and liberty.

Connecticut showed the influence of its founders. Believing with Hooker that "the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people," the General Court in 1639 asked the inhabitants of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield to ratify some fundamental laws which it had passed. This having been done, these acts became the basis for the government of Connecticut for nearly two hundred years. Virtually a written constitution, these so-called "fundamental orders" provided for the establishment of a representative government and the election of all officers by the people. Although there were no religious qualifications for voting, in practice the suffrage was restricted to freemen, and only those who accepted the orthodox belief were granted such a status.

While the river towns of Connecticut were being planted, settlements were appearing along Long Island Sound. The largest of these settlements was New Haven founded in 1638 by John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton who came from England via Massachusetts. They had with them about fifty families including a number of large landholders and wealthy merchants. Unlike the leaders of the river towns, Davenport and Eaton were Puritans of the most extreme type. Under their sway the suffrage was restricted to church members who were, in turn, hand picked by a dozen men of theocratic persuasion.

The migration of white settlers into the Connecticut valley pushed the Pequot Indians into an ever-contracting area. To preserve themselves, the natives took to the warpath and plundered and murdered the English colonists on the frontier. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth responded by raising an army which practically exterminated the Indians in a series of battles. The Pequot War of 1637 showed the New England colonies the advantages of union and so in 1643 Massachusetts, New Haven, Connecticut, and Plymouth formed a confederation. A Board of Commissioners was set up consisting of two men from each colony. The vote of six delegates was enough to make war and peace, raise money, and promote justice. Despite the constant friction between Massachusetts and her smaller neighbors and despite the exclusion of Rhode Island, which incidentally was considered beyond the pale by the Puritan saints, the Confederacy lasted for forty years and survived even so stern a test as the great Indian War of 1675-76. The New England Confederation showed that the colonies could and would unite to protect their common interests. As such, it anticipated the continental union of the revolutionary era.

Although the Rhode Island and Connecticut migrations were responsible for draining off a considerable number of small liberty-loving farmers, enough remained in the Bay Colony to carry on the struggle for freedom and toleration. During the 1640's, the liberal forces won a notable victory by compelling the Puritan theocracy to draw up a code of laws. Up to this decade, cases were tried by judges who sometimes used English common law and sometimes the Bible. Under the circumstances, an element of uncertainty was imparted to their decisions. To do away with this and at the same time in order to find out what their rights were, the people demanded the codification of the laws. In response to this demand, a code known as the Body of Liberties was drawn up in 1641 and enlarged in 1648. These codes were based for the most part on the statute and common law of England.

Although the theocratic leaders of the Bay Colony were forced to make these concessions, they had no intention of relaxing their control of the government. In fact, the very year in which the enlarged code was published, a synod of the Massachusetts churches was held and a platform adopted to resist any innovation. The state was given full power to enforce obedience to the rules and decisions of the ministry. The adoption of the synod's platform by the General Court in 1651 opened the floodgates of reaction. Determined to stamp out every semblance of dissent, the Puritan leaders, headed by Governor John Endicott and the Reverend John Norton, initiated a reign of terror the full force of which fell most heavily on the Quakers whose democratic tendencies and lowly origins were particularly despised and feared. Although the reactionary government used every weapon at its command to force these people to conform, they remained steadfast in their beliefs. Punishments, such as whipping, imprisonment, banishment, and death, proved of no avail. So courageously did the Quakers conduct themselves that they aroused the sympathy of freedom-loving elements in Massachusetts. Soon heavy guards were needed to allow sentences against them to be carried through. Meanwhile the Cromwellian Protectorate was replaced by the Restoration government, and to the growing opposition of the people was added an order from Charles II to stop inflicting the death penalty and corporal punishment on Quakers. Governor Endicott and his reactionary minions decided to obey. Accordingly, the anti-Quaker laws were relaxed, an admission of weakness on the part of the theocracy.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS: While the people were fighting the Puritan oligarchy, a flourishing economy was being established. Like the Chesapeake and Albemarle settlers, the New England colonists were anxious to find some commodity which could be sold in England. Unfortunately, they discovered practically nothing which the mother country needed and they were forced to look elsewhere for their markets. They eventually found them in the West Indies to which they shipped their surplus fish, grain, and timber. In return, they received hard coin, bills of credit, sugar, cotton, and indigo. They then carried these commodities to the mother country, exchanging them for clothing, tools, and a wide variety of ready-made goods.

Though New England depended on trade to raise her standard of living, commerce was not the basis of her economic life. For at least 90 per cent of her people that basis was agriculture. The soil, though difficult to cultivate, was good for the production of staple products, particularly corn. This crop ripened a good deal earlier than others, required less preparation in planting, and yielded more food per acre. But accustomed to European cereals, the people of New England cultivated wheat, rye, oats, barley, and peas. Of these crops wheat was produced in such abundance that by 1640 it was being used for the payment of taxes.

The New England settlers were also engaged in raising livestock. Since dogs were the only domesticated animals the Indians had, the early colonists were forced to import their cattle, sheep, swine, goats, and horses. Pastured at first in the neighboring woods, these imported animals lived on native grasses. But this vegetation, unfortunately, did not possess sufficient nutritive value to tide the livestock over the rigorous winter. Consequently, English grasses had to be brought over and planted in fields especially set aside for the purpose. By the early 'sixties, English pasture plants were so prevalent that they were frequently mentioned in official reports. As a result of their introduction, cattle raising in New England became a profitable enterprise. Every village had its common pasture land where the livestock grazed under the supervision of specially designated herdsmen.

The use of special herdsmen to take care of the village cattle reflected the relative scarcity of farm labor. Since New England farmers produced no staple which had an exchange value in the mother country, they had comparatively little incentive to import servants and slaves. Consequently, there were comparatively few such laborers in New England and those few were usually employed as artisans or domestic servants. Agricultural work was therefore left to the farm family consisting of husband, wife, and children. The task of looking after the livestock was delegated to specially appointed herdsmen in order to allow the family unit to devote all of its energies to farming. Thus, group action was resorted to for the purpose of saving labor. Similarly, it was employed to take care of such arduous tasks as log rolling and corn husking. Community action was also the order of the day when it came to the co-operative use of farm equipment, particularly of plows, which were exceedingly scarce.

The group was also used to distribute land. When a number of individuals living in a relatively old and settled community wanted to take up land, they first drew up a petition. This petition was forwarded to the legislative body of the colony called the General Court. If the religious and economic qualifications of the petitioners were found to be acceptable, the right to establish a town was granted. The next step in the process was to lay out the land. Near the center of the tract a village was located, the focal point of which was a green with a church, market place, and school. From the green ran streets on both sides of which were placed the house lots of the settlers. These plots, which were from one-quarter of an acre to ten acres in size, were large enough for a house, outbuildings, and garden. Beyond these home lots were the arable fields and meadows, divided into strips. On the periphery were located the uncultivated common lands—pasture, woodland, and waste. The last step in the process was to divide the land among the original petitioners, the "town proprietors." In general, each was given a house lot of equal size. In the arable fields and meadows, however, some received more strips than others, the criteria of distribution being ability to cultivate the soil (size of family, available means) and the amount of money invested in the original enterprise (contribution made by each to surveying and moving).

Such a system of land distribution resulted in the establishment of comparatively small farms. In Dorchester, Massachusetts, for instance, the average size of holdings in 1638 was ten acres per family, while in Hartford, Connecticut, it was in 1640 twenty-seven acres. From 1635 to 1664 50 per cent of the farms in Essex County, Massachusetts, were under twenty acres and 76 per cent under fifty.

Holdings in early New England were scattered in strips throughout the arable fields. Since these strips were usually far apart, a great deal of time was lost in going from one to another. Furthermore, a good portion of the land was wasted because of the many roads which ran across the fields. These disadvantages, combined with restrictions limiting the choice of crops and specifications dealing with planting and harvesting dates, encouraged the rise of a movement to consolidate arable land which gained headway during the seventeenth century.

Because of the inefficiencies involved in the open-field system, as well as the difficulties encountered in tilling a rocky and barren soil, the farmers of New England were unable to produce an export surplus in food until about the middle of the seventeenth century. By that time, they were shipping peas, beef, pork, butter, and other provisions to Virginia and Barbados. In 1660, one observer told of thousands of "Neate Beasts and Hogs" being slaughtered each year and sent to Newfoundland and the West Indies. In addition, a large number of draft animals, particularly horses, were shipped to Barbados to be used to furnish sugar mills with motive power.

Fish was much more important than grain and livestock in the export trade of New England. Massachusetts in particular realized that her hope for commercial advancement lay in her fisheries. Consequently, as early as 1639, she passed a law to encourage the growth of the infant industry by exempting fishing vessels from all duties and taxes for seven years. Subsequently, other legislation was enacted fixing the season for catching fish and regulating all packing and curing. As a result of such encouragement, the industry grew rapidly, and huge quantities of dried fish were sent abroad, the best grade to Malaga and the Canaries, the second best to the Portuguese islands off the African coast, and the worst to Barbados for the use of Negro slaves. By 1664, 1,300 ships were engaged in fishing and no less than 1,500 men were employed on the Isles of Shoals, a group of seven small islands located ten miles off Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Lumber and furs were also shipped abroad. England was an excellent market for the New England white pine that made the best masts in the world. Prices on such masts ranged from £95 to £115 each. Meanwhile, staves, hoops, barrels, and boards were sent by the shipload to the West Indies. So profitable was the English and West Indian trade in lumber that within fifty years Massachusetts had to pass laws to protect her forest resources. The early settlers also established posts in Maine and on the Connecticut River from which they secured beaver, raccoon, and other furs. An exportable surplus was soon accumulated and easily disposed of at good prices in old England.

With such commodities as furs, lumber, fish, and grain, New England carried on so flourishing a trade that even before 1660 she was competing with the merchants of the mother country. Her chief export market—the axis about which her trade revolved—was the West Indies. To Barbados and Jamaica she sent fish, draft animals, lumber, and provisions and in return received sugar, indigo, cotton, coin, and bills of credit. Some of these products were exchanged for the tobacco of the Chesapeake colonies and the furs of the contemporary Dutch colony of New Amsterdam. These, together with the remaining West Indian commodities, were afterwards used in direct trade with old England. The Wine Islands off the African coast were only second to the West Indies in the trading economy of New England. New Englanders shipped their best fish there as well as to Spain, and in exchange obtained wine, salt, and wool. They proceeded with these either to England proper or to the West Indies, returning home with additional cargo.

Fortunes were made from widespread trading activities. As early as 1643, Boston merchants could stand losses of $7,000 to $8,000 from a single venture and still have enough money to carry on. Typical of the early New England traders was John Holland, a resident of Dorchester, who accumulated a fortune believed to be worth almost $100,000 when he died in 1652. Even more successful was John Hull whose commercial undertakings amounted to thousands of pounds sterling and almost always turned out to be profitable.

A number of industries developed to keep the commerce of New England going. Most important was shipbuilding which grew so rapidly that within a short time this industry was able to supply even the mother country with sea-going craft. New Englanders were able to make shipbuilding pay from the beginning by using their rich forest resources and rugged coastline to the best advantage. Excellent vessels were constructed at an average cost of £3 and 5 shillings per ton. Most of these ships were designed for fishing and intercolonial trade, and were, in consequence, relatively small. But, some were large, like the one hundred and twenty-ton *Desire* fitted out at Marblehead and the three hundred-ton *Trial* built at Salem. By 1665, Massachusetts had 192 vessels both large and small. Closely connected with shipbuilding were the iron and sail cloth industries. The former supplied shipbuilders with bolts, anchors, nails, and hinges, while the latter furnished them with broad canvases destined to catch the wind and Yankee imagination. Of the two the iron industry was less developed. Though Lynn, Massachusetts, possessed a furnace as early as 1648, its output was small and the quality of the product poor. Since a good supply of iron was difficult to obtain, New Englanders were forced to used wood instead. Thus, plows, shovels, harrows, hoops, and cartwheels were wooden and "whittling" became a popular Yankee diversion.

In addition to iron implements, early New England produced woolen fabrics. These articles, which were usually home made, were designed chiefly to satisfy household needs. At no time did their production involve the entire labor of the family. Limited to arts requiring little skill and inexpensive tools, the fabrics produced were coarse and simple. They were a combination of linen and wool and were popularly referred to as "linsey-woolseys." These poorly made clothes, though worn by the common people, were scorned by well-to-do merchants and clergymen who looked to the mother country for their wearing apparel. Under the circumstances, not much of a market for locally made garments existed in New England. This fact, together with the relative scarcity of raw wool and of skilled labor, militated against the rise of a flourishing cloth industry. Everything, however, was done to overcome at least two of these obstacles. Colonial authorities encouraged sheep raising in order to furnish the infant industry with raw wool. The result was a steady increase in the number of sheep: from one thousand in 1642 in Massachusetts to three thousand in 1650. Eventually Rhode Island became the chief sheep-raising colony in New England with Newport the center of the wool trade. Skilled labor too was necessary. Since artisans were in demand in England at the time, a sufficient number was difficult to obtain. Persistent efforts, however, resulted in the migration of some craftsmen. In 1643, twenty Yorkshire families, skilled in cloth making, came to Rowley, Massachusetts. They brought over their own fulling machines and set up their own mills. Soon similar mills were to be found in other localities.

By 1660 the New England economy was a flourishing one. Agriculture was expanding and household industry taking root. Trade was widespread and profitable; so much so that New England merchants were competing successfully with English traders. The latter, seeking protection, secured the passage of a series of mercantilist laws following the restoration of Charles II to the English throne.

CHAPTER III

IMPERIAL-COLONIAL RELATIONS, 1660–1689

> "*. . . And we doe further demand that the said Sir William Berkeley with all the persons in this list be forwith delivered up or surrender themselves. . . . and this* we the Commons of Virginia, *doe declare, desiering a firme union amongst ourselves that we may joyntly and with one accord defend ourselves against the common Enimy, and lett not the faults of the guilty be the reproach of the innocent, or the faults or crimes of the oppressors devide and separate us who have suffered from theire oppressions.*"
>
> —BACON'S PROCLAMATION, July 30, 1676:
> *The Declaration of the People*

THE restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 profoundly affected relations between the mother country and her colonies. Since Charles II owed his throne not only to the reactionary aristocracy, but also to the conservative big bourgeoisie, he was ready to adopt a commercial policy designed to promote the interests of English merchants at the expense of colonial producers and traders. This policy, the broad outline of which was formulated under Cromwell, was embodied in the Navigation Acts of the 1660's and accompanied by the elimination of the Dutch from New Netherlands and the establishment of agencies of imperial control in England and America. But, quite aside from their original purpose, the enforcement of these mercantilist laws were attended by economic dislocation in some colonies and political tensions in others. In order to understand why, it is necessary to examine briefly the English mercantile system.

THE ENGLISH MERCANTILE SYSTEM

THEORY OF MERCANTILISM: The Navigation Acts were a natural outgrowth of a general theory of national economic policy which dominated the thought of the time. This theory, which came to be known as mercantilism, had three aims: (1) to furnish merchant capitalists with the greatest possible profits; (2) to attain economic self-sufficiency for the nation; and (3) to secure adequate revenue for the Crown.

Basic to the mercantilist theory was the idea of a favorable balance of trade which consisted in a country exporting more than it imported. Since part of the excess would be paid for in gold and silver, national wealth, it was believed, would be greatly increased. In the classic words of Thomas Mun's treatise of 1664: ". . . The ordinary means therefore to encrease our wealth and treasure is by *Forraign Trade,* wherein wee must ever observe this rule: to sell more to strangers yearly than wee consume of theirs in value."[1] To that end the exponents of mercantilism advocated the exportation of manufactured goods, since they would bring higher prices than foodstuffs or raw materials. That, in turn, led to the encouragement of the industries of the mother country. Protective tariffs were used to prevent raw materials and semi-finished goods from leaving the country and foreign-made commodities from entering. Home production was further aided by the importation of skilled artisans from abroad and the granting of special bounties for particularly vital commodities.

The theory of a favorable balance of trade also applied to the interchange of shipping services. If goods were carried in foreign-owned ships, English merchants would be forced to pay freight charges. On the other hand, if merchandise were shipped in English-owned vessels, foreigners would have to pay for these services. The latter alternative was obviously more desirable, because it meant that gold and silver would be imported rather than exported. Thus, the building of a super-merchant marine would bring greater wealth to England and higher profits to her businessmen. Moreover, it would strengthen the English navy by increasing the number of ships available for service in time of war.

Besides urging the encouragement of home industries and the construction of a merchant marine, English mercantilists pressed for the establishment of colonies. Colonial possessions were to promote economic self-sufficiency by performing the twofold function of purchasing surplus manufactured goods from the mother country and of providing her industry with essential raw materials. Colonies were also to furnish English merchants with profits. England was to be made the commercial center of the empire and English shippers were to be given a monopoly of the carrying trade. Similarly, colonial commerce was to be regulated for the benefit of the Crown. Overseas producers were to pay customs duties on commodities carried to England or shipped from one colony to another. The collection of these duties would provide the king with ample revenue, a design completely in accord with mercantilist thought.

THE NAVIGATION ACTS: The economic philosophy of mercantilism found expression in the celebrated Navigation Acts. These laws were directed against the Dutch, then the chief competitors of the English for the mastery of the world's commerce—an important portion of which was the colonial trade. During the English Civil War (1642-49), the Dutch succeeded in obtaining control of a considerable part of England's colonial commerce because of the competitive disadvantages which the war brought upon English merchants. The Civil War disrupted English industry and involved the loss of English property. Production costs rose and prices with them, permitting the Dutch to undersell English manufactured goods abroad. Also the Civil War cut down English shipping. Both Roundheads and Cavaliers, having divided the country between them, converted merchant vessels into privateers and sallied forth to prey upon each other's commerce. Colonial producers, anxious to avoid the depredation of English privateers, turned to the neutral ships of the Netherlands which offered them greater safety and lower freight rates. The Dutch could carry cargoes cheaply because their shipowners saved money on food and wages. So, it was relatively easy for them to exchange their merchandise in America for tobacco and sugar. These they carried directly to European markets. By 1651 about fifty Dutch ships were engaged in trade with Virginia and the West Indies. A flourishing traffic was also carried on with New England, as evidenced by the fact that Dutch money was used in that part of colonial America as a medium of exchange.

The overthrow of the monarchy in 1649 led to a strong colonial policy. This policy reflected the interests of the Puritan merchants of London who had formed the backbone of the Parliamentary opposition to the Crown. Inasmuch as these merchants were engaged in trade with the colonies, they were fully agreed on the necessity of forcing the Dutch to relinquish the gains they had made during the period of the Civil War. To achieve this end Parliament passed the Navigation Act of 1650, which forbade the ships of any foreign power from trading with the colonies. This statute was followed by the much more specific Navigation Act of 1651, which provided that all products sent from the colonies to England or from one colony to another had to be shipped in English or colonial-owned vessels. Furthermore, the act declared that all goods imported into England or the colonies from Europe had to be brought either in English ships or in the ships of that country from which the commodities came in the first instance. The intent of the Navigation Act of 1651 was so obviously anti-Dutch that the Netherlands asked the Cromwellian regime to withdraw it. When this request was denied, the first Anglo-Dutch war broke out. This struggle, which lasted from 1652 to 1654, was essentially a naval war during the course of which some 1,500 Dutch vessels were seized by English privateers. The result of the struggle was victory for England, acceptance of the Navigation Act by the loser, and the beginning of Holland's eclipse as a "power."

Six years after the conclusion of the first Anglo-Dutch war, Charles II was restored to the English throne. Since his restoration was due in no small measure to the support given him by big merchant-capitalists, he readily agreed to grant them a monopoly of the colonial trade. A series of laws was passed which included some of the provisions of the Act of 1651 and added others of prime importance. The Navigation Act of 1660 provided that all goods imported into or exported from any English colony had to be carried in English-built ships under English ownership, commanded by an English captain and manned by a crew three-fourths of whom were to be English.

The act also required that certain enumerated articles—tobacco, sugar, cotton-wool, indigo, and dye-woods—were to be sent only to the British Isles and English possessions. Three years later another trade law, the Staple Act, was passed which provided that all commodities produced or grown in Europe and destined for America were to be shipped first to England and then reshipped to the colonies. Three exceptions were allowed: wines from Madeira and the Azores, salt for the fisheries of New England, and servants, horses, and provisions from Scotland and Ireland.

All of these laws were calculated to furnish English businessmen with maximum profits. The Navigation Act of 1660 assured English merchants of a lucrative monopoly in the colonial staple and carrying trade. Similarly, the law of 1663 guaranteed them additional profits by forcing European businessmen to raise their prices in order to make up for the duty paid on all their merchandise passing through England. In like fashion, the acts of 1660 and 1663, by forcing the colonies to buy and sell their goods through the mother country, enabled English merchants to dispose of their wares on credit and thereby permitted them to add interest charges to sales commissions and freight rates.

It was clear to the English government that the removal of the Dutch from America was essential to the enforcement of her mercantilist laws. In 1664 the Netherlands held the Hudson and Delaware River valleys in the New World. New Amsterdam (Manhattan Island) was used as a base to carry on a lucrative trade with Virginia and New England. To eliminate this illicit traffic as well as to acquire a monopoly of the Hudson River fur trade, England again went to war. During this second Anglo-Dutch conflict (1664-67), the English seized New Amsterdam and took possession of the Hudson and the Delaware. In 1672, the two countries were again at war, and though the Dutch were able to recapture New Amsterdam (New York) and to hold it for a while, they were forced to return it when peace came two years later. So ended the Dutch threat to English mercantilist policies on the North American continent.

During the third and last Anglo-Dutch War, the English government passed a law to systematize inter-colonial trade. From the West Indian and Chesapeake colonies to Boston flowed an ever rising stream of sugar and tobacco. These staples were then reshipped by colonial merchants directly to European countries in violation of English mercantilist legislation. By way of counter attack, the new statute of 1673 placed a "plantation duty" on all enumerated articles exported from one colony to another, equal to the tax paid on such commodities when imported into England.

AGENCIES OF IMPERIAL CONTROL: During the Restoration (1660-89), the English government created agencies of imperial control to enforce the Navigation Acts. One of the most important of these was the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations established in 1675. This body, commonly called the Lords of Trade, had a permanent secretariat in London. It held regular meetings, kept a record of its proceedings, inquired into conditions existing in America, and sent instructions to colonial governors. Since its members were drawn from among the leading officials of the British government, its recommendations were usually approved by the Privy Council. This body, consisting of the advisers of the king, transacted all colonial business.

The actual enforcement of the Navigation Acts was left to officials in America. Particularly important were the colonial governors who were obliged to report semi-annually the names of all vessels and captains trading with their colony. Before leaving England, the governors were expected to post bonds and to take an oath to enforce the trade laws. Customs officials were also sent to America to execute the Navigation Acts. In 1683, a Surveyor-General of the Customs was chosen to supervise and co-ordinate the work of all revenue agents in the colonies. Customs officials not only collected export duties, but also prosecuted in the common law courts all infractions of commercial regulations.

ENGLISH MERCANTILISM AND THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF ENGLAND'S COMMERCIAL POLICY: The Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1663 struck a body blow at the economy of the tobacco-producing colonies by lowering crop prices and raising living costs. Prior to 1660, tobacco growers in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina had received as much as three pence a pound for their tobacco because they could ship their crop anywhere they pleased. Under the Navigation Acts, however, they were required to send their tobacco exclusively to England. Here they obtained only what English merchants were willing to give. As a result, tobacco prices fell to a half-penny a pound and in some cases to a quarter-penny. Incomes were reduced so sharply that the royal governor of Virginia himself officially protested against England's commercial policy on the ground that a whole people was being impoverished to enrich forty English merchants.

Similarly, the Navigation Acts led to a rapid rise in the cost of living. Before 1660, the tobacco colonies obtained cheap products from the Dutch. The passage of the acts of trade stopped all of this by forcing Southern producers to import highly priced English merchandise. In order to check the rapid rise in living costs, the colonists proposed to reduce imports to a minimum. Among the plans suggested was one designed to encourage colonial manufacturing. In 1666, the House of Burgesses in Virginia passed a law requiring the establishment of tanneries and cloth works in each county. The experiment, however, failed to reduce imports appreciably.

Since living costs were rising and incomes declining, hard-pressed producers borrowed money from English merchants. By 1664, Virginia and Maryland growers were in debt to the extent of £50,000. This made them plant more tobacco, always in the hope of making up in bulk what they were losing per unit. Under the circumstances, so much tobacco was produced that prices were further depressed. Accordingly, in 1666, Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina agreed to prohibit the cultivation of tobacco for one year, a move obviously intended to raise prices by restricting output. The plan, however, came to naught owing mainly to the opposition of the lord proprietor of Maryland who feared that its operation would cut his revenue.

In the meantime, England had gone to war with the Netherlands to ensure respect for her mercantilist laws. This war (the second, 1664-67) only added to the woes of the tobacco-producing colonies. Dutch warships disrupted normal trade by sweeping English merchantmen from the high seas. So great were the risks involved in crossing the Atlantic that freight charges were boosted from £7 a ton to rates ranging from £12 to £17. The suffering occasioned by the war was increased when in 1667 excessive rainfall and hurricanes blew down ten thousand homes in Virginia and tore to pieces the tobacco in the fields.

The peace of 1667, which ended the second Anglo-Dutch War, was broken in 1672. Once again the Dutch succeeded in driving the English tobacco fleet from the high seas. As a result, not many English ships came to the Chesapeake and Albemarle regions. Essential articles such as drygoods and hardware were lacking, and tobacco prices fell to a quarter of what they had been in peacetime. Meanwhile, English mercantilists dealt another blow to the tobacco-producing colonies. By an act of 1673, a duty of a penny a pound was levied on all tobacco shipped from one province to another. This act, which tried to discourage trade with New England, served to contract still further the market for tobacco. In desperation, Virginia growers asked the English government to repeal the law. They were firmly told that their request was "a thing contrary to his Majesty's Royall pleasure & benefitt. . . ." One year after the passage of the "plantation duty" act, the war with the Dutch came to an end.

The Navigation Laws and the Anglo-Dutch wars hit the small farmers more severely than the large planters who were in a better position to reduce their unit costs of production. Being able to obtain credit in old England, rich planters had the money to import large numbers of indentured laborers and slaves. They turned especially to the purchase of slaves because they were more profitable in the long run than white servants. As a result, the number of Negroes in Virginia increased greatly during this period—from 1,500 in 1663 to 2,000 in 1671. These Negro slaves were to be found principally on the rapidly growing plantations of the Tidewater where along with white servants they worked the land under the supervision of overseers. The latter were paid on the basis of the size of the crop produced, a practice which stimulated ruthless exploitation. To reduce labor costs, rich planters cut to the minimum the amount of food, clothing, and shelter allotted to their farm hands.

Besides, large planters had capital reserves at their disposal and were thus able to supplement their tobacco incomes by engaging in additional business ventures. During the protracted depression of 1660-76, they turned increasingly to fur trading and general merchandising. Their traffic in Indian pelts was especially profitable because of the relatively small outlay involved in the purchase of liquor, trinkets, and guns. So lucrative was this business that even the royal governor of Virginia participated in it. Besides, large planters engaged in merchandising. They were able to import ready-made wares through factors or agents in London. What they did not need for themselves they sold at good prices to small farmers in the neighborhood. Frequently, they disposed of their goods by extending credit to their customers. Thus, interest charges were added to sales profits. By lowering their production costs and engaging in supplementary business activities, large planters were able not merely to survive the depression but also to strengthen their position at the expense of the yeomanry.

The full force of the economic crisis of 1660-76 fell most heavily upon the small farmers. As tobacco prices declined, their incomes steadily shrank. In 1667, the secretary of Virginia estimated that the annual income of the average producer in that colony was fifty shillings, "which, when the taxes . . . shall be deducted, is very little to a poor man who hath perhaps a wife and children to clothe and other necessities to buy."[2] The position of the small farmer was made even more difficult when in the winter of 1672-73 an epidemic destroyed more than half the cattle of Virginia. The loss of fifty thousand head was a particularly hard blow for independent yeomen who found cattle-raising an indispensable means of support. So desperate did the plight of the working farmer become that he was forced to borrow more and more from wealthy merchant-planters who did not hesitate to squeeze him to the utmost. In 1675, the Virginian, Nathaniel Bacon, had this to say about the conditions under which his compatriots lived: "The poverty of the Country is such that all the power and sway is got into the hands of the rich, who by extortious advantages, having the common people in their debt, have always curbed and oppressed them in all manner of wayes."[3] The following year the desperate farmers of Virginia, aided by white servants and Negro slaves, organized an armed insurrection which spread to the neighboring colonies of Maryland and North Carolina.

THE INSURRECTIONS OF 1676-77: The great Virginia rebellion of 1676 was due in no small measure to the fact that working farmers were unable to obtain relief through peaceful political means. The government was entirely dominated by a small group of wealthy planters who worked hand in hand with the royal governor, William Berkeley. That official was himself a large landholder and fur trader. As a member of the planting class and as an obedient servant of Charles II, Berkeley regarded the common people as rabble to be ruled with a strong hand. He appointed upper class planters to the provincial council, where they used their position to obtain land grants and tax exemptions. The lower house, which theoretically represented the freemen of the colony, was actually controlled by the planting aristocracy. This domination was accomplished through Berkeley's use of land grants and political sinecures. Since no new elections had been held for at least ten years (1666-76) and very probably for fifteen (1661-76), the burgesses had no fear of losing their seats.

Wealthy planters controlled the local as well as provincial government. They or their minions acted as justices of the peace with authority to impose direct taxes. These levies were frequently voted in secret session and were usually heavier than those imposed by the provincial assembly. In addition to levying assessments, the justices were empowered to try cases which involved a sum of less than £10. In such trials the decisions rendered were often far from impartial, especially when small farmers sued local magnates.

Furthermore, the large planters saw to it that the burden of taxation fell most heavily on the poor. Assessments were made on the basis of the number of tithables in a family, freemen, servants, and slaves being placed in this category. Working farmers bitterly opposed this method of taxation on the ground that because of the size of their families they were forced to pay as much in taxes as planters holding twenty thousand acres of land. They therefore proposed to substitute land levies for poll taxes. They considered this to be not only a fairer method of distributing assessments but also a means of discouraging the practice of concentrating land in the hands of the few.

Money wrung from poor, hard-working farmers served to heighten discontent and prepare the way for revolutionary action. Given the prevailing situation, the yeomanry could feel reasonably sure of support from two other classes in the population: white servants and Negro slaves. In 1670, a bill was pushed through the legislature which denied the vote to any one who was not a freeholder. This law was obviously directed against former white servants who owned no land. It was aimed also at those still under indenture, since it threatened their future right to vote. Nor was the suffrage the only issue. The same fear which inspired the large planters to restrict the franchise led them during the early 'seventies to admit to military duty only those servants whose terms had nearly expired. They were afraid of their slaves, too, and well they might be, for in 1672 a slave rebellion swept the colony. The revolt, however, was quickly crushed, and Negroes who resisted were shot on the spot. For every dead slave, masters were given 4,500 pounds of tobacco at public expense.

Thus, only a spark was needed to kindle the flame of revolution. It was supplied when in 1675 a destructive Indian war broke out on the frontier which cost the lives of many settlers. Farmers living in the interior immediately petitioned the governor for aid. Berkeley rejected the petition because he and his planter allies feared that a strong Indian policy would only endanger their interest in the fur trade and might provoke new outbursts. Having failed to obtain satisfaction from the government, the frontier farmers took up arms and asked their bold and youthful neighbor, Nathaniel Bacon, to lead them against the Indians. Although himself a large planter and a member of the governor's council, Bacon readily accepted the offer. Because of his own experience with the Indians, he vigorously opposed Berkeley's policy of appeasement. His plantation in Henrico County had just been attacked and his overseer murdered. Besides, Bacon was completely out of sympathy with the

unjust discriminations, unfair taxes, and lack of elections which characterized the irascible governor's regime. This young man of twenty-nine was in the words of one biographer "a champion of the weak, a rebel against injustice, the forerunner of Washington, Jefferson, and Samuel Adams." [4]

Bacon placed himself at the head of a volunteer band of frontiersmen and marched against the Indians. Berkeley immediately condemned Bacon's action, proclaimed him a rebel and a traitor, and removed him from the Council. A new election to the House of Burgesses was called at which Bacon was chosen by his constituents. The imperious governor, however, still refused to grant the Henrico planter permission to proceed against the Indians. Thereupon, Bacon marched upon Jamestown at the head of an army of small frontier farmers. As he proceeded eastward, he was joined by working yeomen in the older community, a clear indication that his cause transcended narrow sectional lines. He took Jamestown and imprisoned the governor's friends. The new assembly, responding to his revolutionary leadership, passed laws designed to restore the government to the people. All freemen were given the right to vote, tax exemption for councilors was forbidden, county assessments were to be levied by representatives equal in number to the justices of the peace, and the governing body of the parish was to be chosen by popular suffrage. Berkeley soon fled from Jamestown and Bacon took over as "General by consent of the people."

As rumors circulated that Charles II was sending an army to crush the uprising, the young rebel leader prepared to fight the British. Accordingly, in August, 1676, he summoned his followers to take an oath to support him against the king's troops. Everything was put in readiness to repel the threatened invasion. Bacon was confident of the outcome; he was certain that five hundred Virginians would prove themselves more than a match for two thousand Britishers. According to one report, he was ready to establish an independent state consisting of Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland.

In September, 1676, Bacon was at the height of his power. His forces, made up of "freemen, searvants and slaves," as one unknown contemporary put it,[*] easily defeated a motley crowd of mercenary troops headed by the reactionary governor. Unfortunately, however, Bacon died shortly after his victory over Berkeley. The governor eventually raised a force which proved to be more than a match for the leaderless revolutionary army. By January, 1677, the counter revolution was triumphant, the rebels were crushed and Berkeley executed twenty-three leaders of the insurrection and confiscated the estates of a number of others. Meanwhile, the king's commissioners arrived with 1,100 men. After an investigation, the royal officials ordered the governor to return to England.

Aside from this, the only other gain resulting from Bacon's rebellion was a treaty of peace with the Indians which re-established order on the frontier. The planters still retained their control of the government, and England did nothing to remove the basic cause of distress—the trade acts. Nor did she allow the suffrage to be extended to all freemen. On the contrary, the mother country insisted on restoring the Act of 1670 limiting the franchise to freeholders. Agitation among the small farmers therefore continued. In 1682 they again rose in revolt, destroying tobacco crops in the hope of raising prices. This movement, known as the Tobacco Rebellion, was crushed with great brutality by the royal governor, Lord Culpeper, who hanged two of the leaders. Although the people of Virginia did not rise when news reached them of the English Revolution of 1688-89, they nevertheless hailed the end of Stuart rule with undisguised joy.

Bacon's rebellion of 1676 had its repercussions in Maryland where hard-working farmers were dissatisfied with existing conditions. As in Virginia, so here too, the basic causes of discontent were the steady decline of tobacco prices and the constant rise of living costs, both of which were occasioned by English mercantilist policies. Dissatisfaction was further provoked by poll taxes, heavy assessments, restricted suffrage, and inadequate protection against the Indians. When news of the Virginia uprising reached Maryland, a manifesto appeared which revealed in no uncertain terms sympathy for Bacon's cause.[*] In the meantime, sixty armed men gathered together in Calvert County which was located not far from the Virginia border. In order to head off the incipient revolt, the authorities issued a proclamation ordering the men to disband at once. When they refused, an army was dispatched against them. Two of their leaders—Davyes and Pate—were seized and hanged as traitors. Later on, Josias Fendall was accused of preparing to join Bacon. Only the vigilance of the authorities, it was said, had prevented him. John Coode was also charged with having been a "rank Baconist."

Despite its quick collapse, the Maryland rebellion of 1676 forced the proprietary government to promise to allow all freemen to vote in the next election. It also announced that it was ready to replace the poll tax by a more equitable levy. When the government did nothing to fulfill these promises, the small farmer became more dissatisfied than ever before. Although the authorities were still strong enough to crush an uprising in 1681, they were unable to cope with Coode's rebellion, eight years later.[†]

The impact of Bacon's rebellion was felt not only in Maryland but also in North Carolina. Albemarle men were in close touch with the leaders of the Virginia uprising. John Culpeper probably negotiated with Bacon or his followers, while William Drummond, former governor of North Carolina, actually participated in the revolt. It is therefore not surprising that with the collapse of Bacon's rebellion, defeated Virginia insurrectionaries should seek refuge in the Albemarle country.

The close relationship between the Virginia rebels and the men of Albemarle served to sharpen the antagonism toward the proprietors which existed in that region. In 1663, Charles II had given Carolina to eight of his favorites with power to exercise all of the rights and privileges enjoyed by Lord Baltimore in Maryland. Two years later, the limits of the province were extended on the north to the 26° 30′ parallel and on the south to the 29th. Thus, the grant included the land held by the already settled Albemarle colony.

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[*] The point that slaves participated in Bacon's Rebellion has often been overlooked. For above quotation, see C. M. Andrews, *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690* (New York, 1915), p. 94.

[*] The manifesto was entitled "Complaint from Heaven, with a Huy and Crye and a Petition out of Virginia and Maryland."

[†] See pp. 85 *ff*.

The Carolina proprietors, who included some of the richest men in England, expected to make money out of their newly acquired colony by selling part of the land, developing the rest for themselves, and collecting quitrents. Like Lord Baltimore, they wanted to establish a feudal principality with a hierarchical social order. Accordingly, John Locke, who was destined to become one of the most advanced thinkers of his age, was instructed to prepare a plan of government for the colony. This design, called the "Fundamental Constitutions," provided for the division of Carolina into seignories, baronies, and colonies to be peopled by freemen, serfs, and noblemen. As in Maryland, the effort to establish feudalism in Carolina failed for much the same reasons.

Up to 1670, the proprietors permitted the Albemarle settlement to develop in its own way. As a result, they made no money out of the North Carolina colony, a situation which they decided to alter. After 1670, they demanded the payment of quitrents. Since farm incomes were sadly depleted because of falling tobacco prices, these rents were a heavy burden, and when attempts were made to collect them, the settlers refused to pay on the ground that they held their land outright. The proprietors not only tried to collect quitrents, but also insisted on enforcing the Navigation Acts, especially the Colonial Duty Act of 1673. Most of the trade of the Albemarle tobacco growers being conducted with New England merchants, the enforcement of this act dealt them a particularly heavy blow. The one penny duty paid under the law was partly shifted by the New Englanders to the growers, reducing the latters' margin of profit nearly to the vanishing point.

When in 1677 Thomas Miller, collector of the customs and self-appointed governor, arrested George Durant, one of the founders of the Albemarle colony, the storm broke. The people came to the aid of Durant, set up a government and threw Miller into jail. Subsequently, Miller escaped to England where he presented his case against the "Rebellious Rabble" to the Privy Council. John Culpeper, one of the leaders of the uprising, was ordered to return to the mother country to answer

Miller's charges. Fortunately for Culpeper the Carolina proprietors, wishing to put an end to all the trouble, interceded on his behalf and obtained his release. In addition, Miller was condemned for his provocative acts, and a new governor was appointed. The latter was instructed to persuade the colonists to pay quitrents and tobacco taxes.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MERCHANTS—OLD ENGLAND *VS.* NEW ENGLAND

MERCANTILISM AND THE NEW ENGLAND ECONOMY: While the southern provinces could be made to fit into the English mercantile system, the New England colonies could not. The simple reason for this was that they produced practically nothing which the mother country wanted. Their farm products—wheat, rye, barley, and oats—were like those of England. Their fisheries served only to draw away profits from English fishermen and to hamper the growth of the English fishing fleet. The rapidly developing industries of New England acted as a direct threat to the prosperity of English manufacturers who considered the colonies an outlet for their goods. New England shipping drained off English seamen and competed with English traders for the commerce of the West Indies, the Wine Islands and the Mediterranean.

Although the New England economy did not meet the requirements of the English mercantile system, some benefits were derived from it, at least in the beginning. The Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1663, which excluded the merchants and ships of Holland from the colonial trade, gave New Englanders an excellent opportunity to supplant the Dutch in the markets of the West Indies and continental America. Moreover, the act of 1660 stimulated New England shipbuilding because it gave British subjects a monopoly of the carrying trade between the colonies and the British Isles. It also advanced her commerce, since England did not at the time have enough ships to carry on all of the colonial trade. Furthermore, the Staple Act of 1663, which permitted the direct importation of wine from Madeira and the Azores and of salt for the North American fisheries, did not affect adversely the New England-Wine Islands trade or the New England fishing industry.

New England merchants took full advantage of the opportunity offered them by England's early mercantilist laws. They rapidly absorbed a good part of the Dutch trade in the West Indies and southern colonies. They carried the sugar and tobacco of these regions directly to Europe where they obtained manufactured goods. They brought these back to America without stopping in England to pay duties as required under the Staple Act. Thus, they could afford to undersell the English. This illegal trade deprived English manufacturers of profits, English shippers of freight rates, and the Crown itself of much needed revenue. Action was deemed necessary.

In 1664, the English government sent commissioners to Massachusetts to see to the enforcement of the Navigation Acts. When they arrived in Boston the following year, they were given a cold reception. Sentries were posted and the charter of the colony hidden. Taken aback by these actions, a majority of the commissioners recommended the revocation of the Massachusetts charter. In 1666 the Crown issued a circular letter to the colonies expressing displeasure with the attitude taken by Massachusetts. However, nothing was done to bring the recalcitrant colony to terms. This served only to encourage Boston merchants to carry on their illegal trade.

In order to strike at the roots of this traffic, the Colonial Duty Act of 1673 was passed. This law placed an export tax on all enumerated articles shipped from one colony to another, which was to be equal to the duty on such products when imported into England. It was expected that New England merchants would pass on at least part of the duty by raising commodity prices, and that West Indian sugar producers and southern tobacco growers might then turn to English businessmen for the merchandise they needed. In this way, direct trade with England would be promoted, and the indirect, illicit European traffic diminished.

REVOCATION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARTER: One year after the Colonial Duty Act went into effect, the last Anglo-Dutch war came to an end. The Netherlands was eliminated as a serious threat to England's control of the North American trade. Having expelled the Dutch, the English were in no mood to tolerate the competition of New England. Thus, English merchants urged the adoption of strong measures to make Massachusetts conform to the mercantilist pattern. Charles II also favored such action since he was interested in obtaining additional revenue to make himself financially independent of Parliament. Moreover, the king, as a firm believer in absolutism, wanted to make his authority felt in New England. So, in 1676, a special agent, Edward Randolph by name, was sent to Massachusetts to investigate trade and other conditions.

When the royal official arrived in Boston, he was bluntly told that the laws of England did not apply to the Bay Colony. He was also informed that Massachusetts would decide any dispute which arose between herself and the mother country. When this "watchdog" of English mercantilism returned home, he drew up a report charging Massachusetts with violating the Navigation Acts, denying appeals to England, coining money, and putting English citizens to death for religious opinions. Randolph proposed that the colony be reorganized as a royal province.

This proposal involved the revocation of the Massachusetts charter. After some delay, the English authorities began legal proceedings to accomplish this object. In 1684, the charter was declared forfeited, the decision being due in no small measure to repeated violations of the Navigation Acts. As James Truslow Adams puts it, "Had Massachusetts at any time been willing to give up her illicit profits [that is, abide by the trade laws], she could very possibly have saved her charter."[5]

How did Massachusetts react to the revocation of the charter? Opposition was naturally most pronounced among the ruling classes. Theocratic-minded Puritans regarded the action as the first step to the overthrow of their religious system. Similarly, Boston merchants, especially those engaged in the illegal inter-colonial and trans-Atlantic trade, saw in the move an initial assault upon the right of colonial traders to make profits. On the other hand, there were some in Massachusetts who welcomed the annulment of the charter. First, there were those who traded directly with England and would in no way be harmed by the enforcement of the Navigation Acts. In addition, they saw an opportunity to secure public office as minions of the English government in Massachusetts. Secondly, the religious minority groups, Baptists and Quakers, saw in the revocation of the charter a chance for religious freedom. Obviously, these religious dissenters had no love for the Puritan theocracy which had hounded them for years. The majority of the people of Massachusetts, however, neither opposed nor welcomed the change. On the one hand, they were out of sympathy with the old Puritan regime because it had refused them the right to vote. On the other hand, they did not know whether their new rulers would extend them that privilege. Thus, they adopted a policy of "watchful waiting." They were soon to find out that their English overlords were as bad as, if not worse than, their old masters.

THE DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND: The first thing the English did after the forfeiture of the Massachusetts charter was to establish a new government. The new order provided for a governor and council to be appointed by the king and to be given full judicial, executive, and legislative powers. No provision was made for a representative assembly. This was England's answer to the aspirations of the people of Massachusetts for self government. The four-fifths who had looked forward to securing the vote saw their expectations shattered and even the one-fifth who had formerly exercised the suffrage could do so no more.

Joseph Dudley, born in Massachusetts and educated at Harvard, was selected as president of the Council. This "servant of the crown," who became the worst hated man of his day, practically ruled the colony until Sir Edmund Andros arrived in December, 1686. The authority of the new governor covered New Hampshire and Plymouth as well as Massachusetts. Eventually Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey were placed under Andros' jurisdiction, the whole territory being called the Dominion of New England. Inter-colonial antagonisms growing out of economic and jurisdictional rivalries, poor and inadequate means of communication, and differences in customs and attitudes combined to render difficult the successful administration of the Dominion. Furthermore, these elements otherwise at loggerheads shared a decided distaste for the Stuart policy of absolutism. Effectual control was well-nigh impossible.

The Dominion of New England, established in 1688, came to an abrupt end the following year. The first blow struck against it was delivered by the people of Massachusetts, who had many reasons for complaint. Foremost among these was the land policy of the Andros regime. Originally land grants were made in Massachusetts by the towns acting as corporate bodies. By contending that the Massachusetts Bay Company had no power to create other corporations, the Dominion government implied that existing land titles were illegal. As a result, a general feeling of insecurity prevailed among the landholders of the colony. In addition, the Dominion government ordered the disposal of the undistributed common lands. Individuals receiving such land were to pay a small quitrent to the royal authorities. Meanwhile, the governor granted large tracts of land to a number of his friends.

Equally unpopular was the arbitrary manner in which taxes were levied. Since no provision had been made for an elected assembly, a small clique of men consisting of the governor and his council imposed assessments. This method of raising money was bitterly resented. The people of Ipswich, under the leadership of their liberal minister, John Wise, refused to pay taxes not levied by an elected assembly. Wise and his associates were imprisoned and fined for their actions and town meetings restricted by law to one a year. This step struck not only at the roots of popular government in the colony but also at the economic life of the village community. For these town meetings discussed practical questions such as the time and kind of crops to be produced, the use of the commons, and the distribution of land. These important matters required many meetings during the year. To forbid more than one would seriously hamper the successful operation of the town economy.

Another phase of the economic life of Massachusetts suffered from Andros' enforcement of the Navigation Acts. The activities of customs officials made it more difficult for Boston merchants to engage in the illegal trade. Consequently, it was much harder to obtain imported merchandise. The price of manufactured articles correspondingly increased, a situation which merely made for more political tension.

The religious policy of the Andros regime added to the dissatisfaction. The Dominion government encouraged Anglicanism by opening Puritan meeting houses to the services of the Church of England and by building an Anglican church in Boston called King's Chapel. These moves particularly outraged Puritan leaders, who argued that they constituted the opening wedge in a campaign to introduce "popery." Rumors circulated to the effect that the governor intended eventually to turn the colony over to Catholic France. It was even alleged that Andros proposed to call in the Mohawks to destroy Boston.

AMERICA AND THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION OF 1688-89

THE OVERTHROW OF THE ANDROS REGIME: While these rumors were circulating, the Glorious Revolution took place in England. This revolution was engineered by prominent Whig politicians who were goaded into action by the arbitarary and pro-Catholic policies of James II who reigned from 1685 to 1688. The king's suspension of anti-Catholic legislation and his friendly policy toward France convinced these Whigs that the Stuart ruler was attempting to destroy not only Parliamentary government at home but also English commercial supremacy abroad. When in 1688 a son was born to the king's second wife who was a Catholic, the Whig leadership, representing the interests of the big bourgeoisie, joined with non-Catholic Tories in offering the English throne to James' Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband the Dutch prince, William of Orange. Since the supporters of the king were few and weak, a bloodless revolution occurred. The following year, England's new rulers accepted the thesis of parliamentary government by approving the Bill of Rights. The events of 1688-89 were important landmarks in the political rise of the English merchant capitalists who thereafter shared state power with the landed aristocracy.

Like the great Puritan upheaval of 1649, the Glorious Revolution had repercussions in America. When news of it reached Boston in March, 1689, preparations were made to overthrow the Andros regime. On April 18, crowds gathered in the streets of Boston. Andros, Randolph, and other Dominion officials were seized and thrown into jail. Had their fate been left to the old Puritan leaders, these agents of Stuart absolutism would have been released. However, the people would have none of this and so the "usurpers" were kept in prison until the following year. Upon their release, they left the colony for England.

A few weeks after the Boston uprising, revolts took place in Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, all of which returned to the forms of government they had had prior to the organization of the Dominion of New England. They reinstated their old officials and continued on their separate ways. Meanwhile a Council of Safety was established in Massachusetts. Within a short time, the government passed into the hands of the old Puritan oligarchy.

This development was not at all to the liking of the new English government. William and Mary had two reasons for not wanting Massachusetts to return to her old course of independence. First, they were anxious to mobilize the resources of the colony in the fight against the French in Canada. This struggle was part of the conflict for commercial and colonial hegemony which broke out in 1689 between England and France. Secondly, William and Mary, reflecting the interests of English merchants, were determined to enforce the Navigation Acts. This would be virtually impossible if Massachusetts were allowed to revert to the good old days. For these reasons the English rulers wanted to establish their authority in the colony. At the same time, however, they were willing to grant the people of Massachusetts a voice in the determination of provincial policies.

Accordingly, William and Mary issued a charter in 1691 which attempted to reconcile colonial aspirations with imperial interests. Massachusetts became a royal colony, its territory being enlarged to include Plymouth, Maine, and for a time Nova Scotia. This domain was subject to a governor, appointed by the Crown and empowered to veto measures passed by the colonial legislature. Imperial interests were further protected by the provision that any law enacted by the colony and approved by the governor could be declared null and void by

England. Moreover, the new charter permitted appeals to be made from Massachusetts courts to the Privy Council. The grant of 1691 not only safeguarded imperial interests, but also gave the people of Massachusetts home rule. It provided for a legislature of two houses, the lower to be elected by the people on the basis of property, not religious, qualifications. Since property was widely held, most adult males were able to vote. This was a step toward democracy and a blow at theocracy. The assembly was to choose the members of the upper house (council), though the governor had the right to veto selections made. In addition, the charter permitted the continuance of the old system of local government.

William and Mary also recognized colonial aspirations in Connecticut and Rhode Island. The legal proceedings instituted by the Stuarts against the charters of these colonies were dropped and Connecticut and Rhode Island permitted to continue under their original grants. In both of these provinces the governor and the legislature were elected by the people.

LEISLER'S REBELLION IN NEW YORK: In New York, as in New England, revolutionary action put an end to the Andros regime. When news of the Boston uprising reached New York in 1689, the colony was ripe for rebellion. Stuart absolutism was nothing new so far as New York was concerned. From 1664, when New Netherlands fell into the hands of the English, to 1685, when Charles II died, the colony had been administered by agents of the Duke of York, lord proprietor of the province. Under the duke, New York had become the most undemocratic of all the English colonies in America. Power was concentrated in the hands of the proprietor, who selected the governor and council, imposed laws and taxes, appointed local officials, and controlled the courts and the militia.

As early as 1665—that is, one year after the expulsion of the Dutch from the colony—the small farmers of Long Island and Westchester demanded the right to levy taxes, elect judges, supervise the militia, and choose a legislative assembly. James refused to accede to these demands; however, the farmers, joined by other democratic elements—tradesmen, fishermen, artisans and wage-earners—continued their agitation. So insistent were they, especially for an elected assembly, that in

1683 the Duke of York instructed Thomas Dongan, governor of the colony, to convoke such a body. The first assembly, meeting in New York City, adopted a "Charter of Liberties and Privileges" which vested legislative power in the hands of the lower house, council and governor, extended the franchise to all freemen, and granted religious liberty and trial by jury. The charter was submitted to the proprietor for approval; but before he had a chance to pass upon it, his brother, Charles II, died and the Duke of York became king of England. New York was transformed into a royal province and Governor Dongan was instructed to put an end to the assembly.

The new royal government immediately identified itself with the wealthy elements in the colony. Governor Dongan helped rich merchants in New York City by vigorously enforcing the old proprietary order that all articles coming into or leaving the colony were to pass through Manhattan. This order virtually gave New York shippers a commercial monopoly which enabled them to dictate prices and freight rates. At the same time, it made easier the collection of duties. The Albany fur traders too enjoyed new favors. In 1688, the royal governor gave them complete control over the traffic in pelts. He also entered into a treaty of friendship with the Iroquois Indians who were thereafter more disposed to trade with the English than with the French. Similarly, Dongan promoted the interests of the great landlords of the colony whose large estates were tilled by tenant farmers. He bestowed upon these "Lords of the Valley" substantial tracts of land and influential political posts. As members of the provincial council and as justices of the peace, they were able to play an important role in directing colonial policies.

The upper-class character of Dongan's regime was directly opposed to the interests of the people. The government's order to seize all flour packed outside New York was definitely to the disadvantage of the small farmers of the colony. Furthermore, Dongan's instructions that all Boston vessels were to call at New York before delivering their goods and to return to that city before leaving the province tended to discourage the New England-Long Island trade. Thus, Long Island farmers lost an outlet for their surplus products. Nor were Dongan's policies any more helpful to the small tradesmen, artisans, and day laborers. The profits that accrued from making New York the commercial entrepôt of the colony went largely into the pockets of monopolistic merchants, and the returns secured by poor tradesmen and petty artisans were by comparison insignificant. Day laborers were in an even worse position than small craftsmen, since they possessed no tools of their own and were therefore entirely dependent upon the merchants of the city for a livelihood.

When in 1688 New York became part of the Dominion of New England and Andros superseded Dongan, the people continued to be dissatisfied with their lot. Captain Francis Nicholson was made deputy-governor with power to administer the colony. He was to be helped by a resident council consisting of wealthy aristocrats—men like Philipse, Bayard, and Van Cortlandt—who were interested in trade as well as land. Since no provision was made for a representative assembly, it was practically impossible for the people to seek redress for their grievances through peaceful political action. The only way out was open revolt.

Fear of Catholicism aggravated the situation. Since the vast majority of the people of the colony were Protestant, they feared "popish" infiltration into key government posts. Deputy-Governor Nicholson was believed to be secretly a "papist." Plowman, collector of the customs, Baxter, in charge of the Albany fort, and Russell, an ensign in the New York garrison, were Catholics. The belief was widespread that the "papist" Dongan was plotting the downfall of Protestant New York from his place of retirement in Hempstead. Most people were ready to believe that all these men were willing to hand the colony over to Catholic France.

When news of the overthrow of James II reached New York in the early part of 1689, the reaction was immediate. The farmers of eastern Long Island, Queens, and Westchester rose in revolt against the Dominion officials and elected others in their place. Then on May 31, about a month and a half after the Boston uprising, the tradesmen, artisans, and wage earners of New York City took up arms and overthrew Nicholson and other Dominion officials. The government of the province was now completely in the hands of the revolutionary party.

The New York City insurrection was led by Jacob Leisler, a merchant of considerable property who was connected by family ties with the landed-mercantile aristocracy. Yet, despite his wealth and position, he threw in his lot with the people. He knew what it meant to pay taxes levied in an arbitrary manner. On one occasion, indeed, he had absolutely refused to pay customs duties on imported liquor. Like other merchants engaged in the non-English trade, he opposed the Navigation Acts. Although some of these merchants later sided with him against the Andros regime, most of his followers were drawn from the ranks of farmers, tradesmen, artisans, and wage earners.

Like Bacon, Leisler was a man of action. A convention was held at which the elected delegates went on record as deploring "the oppression and slavery imposed by the former governor and council." Ten men were selected to serve as a Committee of Safety with Leisler occupying the position of commander-in-chief. Subsequently, the committee put down all resistance by throwing counter-revolutionary leaders into jail. It also forced merchants to contribute a part of their goods to the support of the government and the people. In the opinion of C. M. Andrews, one of the outstanding students of colonial history, ". . . Leisler and his associates showed not only vigor of action but also considerable capacity for administration, and allowed neither lawlessness nor anarchy to prevail."[6]

When the revolutionary government came to power, New York was confronted by the possibilities of a French and Indian attack because of the outbreak of war between England and France. Leisler and his associates believed that the best way to protect New York was to establish a continental union. With this in mind, a correspondence was carried on with revolutionary leaders in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Maryland. So favorable was the reaction that an inter-colonial congress was held in New York in May, 1690, for the purpose of defending British America against a combined French and Indian invasion. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York sent representatives to the convention, while Rhode Island promised financial aid, and Maryland, men. Connecticut, in keeping with the spirit of the congress, sent troops to aid New York against the attack of the French and Indians.

Meanwhile, large landlords, rich merchants, and complaisant clergymen stirred up dissatisfaction against Leisler and his associates. To add to Leisler's troubles, a British regiment as well as a new English governor arrived in New York during the early part of 1691. The new official, Colonel Henry Sloughter, immediately came to an understanding with the colonial aristocracy. Leisler and others were arrested, tried for treason, and convicted by a packed jury. Governor Sloughter signed the death warrant and Leisler was hanged as a traitor in May, 1691.

Next, the new governor, acting upon the instructions of William and Mary, established a representative assembly with power to enact laws subject to royal approval. Since only eight to ten per cent of the population was allowed to vote, this was a very slight extension of democracy. Still, the establishment of an assembly gave the people an agency through which they could voice their protests.

REPERCUSSIONS IN NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA: The English Revolution of 1688-89 likewise affected New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Although no outbreaks occurred in either colony the political power of the proprietor was done away with in one, while in the other it underwent severe trials.

In 1664, the Duke of York, who held both New Jersey and New York, conferred the former on Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley. The following year, the two proprietors, wishing to dispose of their real estate holdings quickly and profitably, issued a document promising religious liberty and representative government to all who came to New Jersey. Despite this attractive offer, the colony grew so slowly that Berkeley, sorely disappointed, sold his holdings in 1674 to two Quakers. When the colony was divided in 1676 into two sections, their portion became "West Jersey" and that retained by the other proprietor, Carteret, "East Jersey." Carteret encountered considerable trouble when he attempted to collect quitrents from the local farmers. Opposition took the form of popular revolts. These disturbances so discouraged Carteret that he sold his holdings to ten Quakers in 1682.

When James II became king, three years later, he made up his mind to regain the Jersey charters so as to bring another northern colony under the jurisdiction of the Crown. The proprietors realized the hopelessness of their position, and in 1688 consented to give up their political rights. In return they were permitted to retain their economic privileges. New Jersey was then incorporated into the Dominion of New England. When the Andros regime was overthrown the following year, the proprietors resumed their former governmental functions, the change being accompanied by no disturbance. In 1692, their action was approved by William and Mary.

In the same year William Penn was deprived of his political rights as proprietor of Pennsylvania. These rights had originally been given him by Charles II in 1681 when the settlement of Pennsylvania was begun. The new colony grew rapidly; by 1683 it had a population of three thousand. The inhabitants enjoyed the right to worship as they pleased. In addition, property-holders were entitled to elect an assembly and council whose measures could not be vetoed by the governor. The three counties of Delaware, which were incorporated into the province in 1682, were represented in the legislature.

During the early years of the colony, the assembly and council frequently clashed over such questions as money bills, the power to amend measures, and the initiation of legislation. Penn, exasperated by the constant bickering, sent Captain John Blackwell to the colony with instructions "to rule the meek meekly: and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority." When the new governor arrived in Pennsylvania, he found few with meek dispositions. So after thirteen months of quarreling, he gave up his post in despair.

To add to Penn's difficulties, affairs in England took a turn for the worse. In 1688, as the Glorious Revolution got under way, his friend, James II, was forced to flee the country. The new government naturally suspected the Quaker of allegiance to the former king. Accordingly, in 1692, William and Mary, taking advantage of the strife between the proprietor and his settlers, deprived Penn of his political authority. Two years later, however, his governmental powers were restored since by that time there was little doubt as to his loyalty.

COODE'S REBELLION IN MARYLAND: Unlike Pennsylvania and

New Jersey, Maryland experienced an armed uprising when news of the overthrow of James II reached the colony. Dissatisfaction with the proprietary government was widespread, as working farmers complained of illegal exactions, seizure of food in peacetime, forced payment of assessments in money instead of in tobacco, and excessive fees. Moreover, they bitterly resented the proprietor's policy of annulling laws passed by the assembly and of bestowing lucrative offices on his family and friends. They viewed with alarm the filling of important government posts with Catholics, especially since war with France was imminent.

The Maryland uprising of 1689, unlike that of 1676, was well planned and well organized. As early as April, the revolutionaries, headed by John Coode, an energetic and able leader, established the so-called Protestant Association, a well knit organization designed to co-ordinate the activities of dissident groups throughout the colony. When the Association was ready to act in July, 1689, it encountered no difficulty in overthrowing the government. A band of insurgents, led by Coode, took St. Mary's, the capital of the province. The uprising was justified in a manifesto which emphasized "the Injustice and Tyranny under which we [the people of Maryland] groan. . . ."[7] The revolutionary party, now including both the wealthier planters and the poorer farmers, proclaimed William and Mary the lawful sovereigns of England.

A convention was called and a committee selected to administer the government. Contact was established with revolutionaries in New York and the common need for unity emphasized. In a letter to Leisler, dated November 26, 1689, Coode indicated that Maryland and New York ought to stand together, since ". . . O^{r} circumstances are so alike, & ye common danger so equally threatening. . . ."[8] A correspondence was also carried on with revolutionaries in other colonies who were requested to keep Marylanders informed on all important matters.

Since the revolutionary government in Maryland was ready to accept William and Mary, a settlement was made without much trouble. Although Lord Baltimore was permitted to retain his economic rights, he was deprived of all political power.

Maryland became a royal province with an assembly, council, and governor.

In the colonies south of Maryland nothing of great import occurred. There was no popular outbreak in Virginia, partly because the governor of that colony, Lord Howard, a corrupt tool of James II, was recalled. In North Carolina the people rose against the governor, who was deposed by the assembly. It is likely that events here were influenced by the revolution in England. In South Carolina the proprietary government continued as formerly.

On the whole, the revolutionary movements of 1689 in America advanced the cause of colonial democracy. Representative government was restored in New England, New York, and New Jersey and the franchise was secularized and liberalized in Massachusetts. Moreover, the Bill of Rights was accepted as the priceless heritage of Englishmen in America as well as in England.

Although the Glorious Revolution of 1689 encouraged the democratic movement in the colonies, the settlement resulting from it tended to aggravate imperial-colonial relations. English control over America was extended by converting proprietary and corporate colonies into royal provinces, a move which was obviously dictated by the mercantilistic interests of the English ruling classes. In all of the royal colonies a dual power existed: the governor representing the external authority and the colonial assembly the internal. Throughout the provincial period (1689-1763), these two forces struggled for supremacy, the fundamental issue at stake being: Who was to rule over America?

CHAPTER IV

PROVINCIAL AMERICA, 1689–1763

> "*... of the Future State of North America—Here we find a vast Stock of proper Materials for the Art and Ingenuity of Man to work upon.... Shall not ... those vast Quarries, that teem with mechanic Stone—those for Structure be piled into great Cities,—and those for sculpture into Statues to perpetuate the Honor of renowned Heroes.... O, Ye unborn Inhabitants of America! Should this Page escape its destin'd Conflagration at the Year's End, and these Alphabetical Letters remain legible ... you will know that in Anno Domini 1758, we dream'd of your Times.*"
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> —NATHANIEL AMES, *Almanack for 1758*

THE outstanding characteristic of the provincial period (1689-1763) was the extraordinary expansion of the American economy. Agriculture, industry, and commerce developed by leaps and bounds as new lands were brought under cultivation, new manufacturing establishments founded, and new trading areas opened. All these developments were stimulated by an unprecedented wave of immigration which helped swell the population from 200,000 in 1690 to 1,500,000 in 1760.

As the economic life of provincial America expanded, merchants and other groups in England looked increasingly to the exploitation of colonial resources. Legislation was passed to regulate not only American trade but also American industry and finance. Royal governors were sent to the provinces with instructions to sacrifice colonial to imperial interests. Their work in this direction was hampered by local assemblies which succeeded in becoming supreme by securing control of the purse strings. The struggle for power in America was accompanied by a conflict between England and France for world mastery.

From 1689 to 1763 the two rivals fought in North America as well as in Europe and Asia. In the end the French were driven from both Canada and the trans-Allegheny West. Meanwhile, unifying forces of an economic, political, and cultural character were producing a sense of national consciousness.

IMMIGRATION

THE COMING OF THE "FOREIGNERS": One of the most striking features of the life of provincial America was the enormous influx of non-English immigrants, people who came from Germany, Ireland, and other countries in the hope of improving their standard of living and escaping arbitrary exactions. The Thirty Years' War, which swept the Germanies from 1618 to 1648, was followed by a period of slow recovery. Especially was this true of the Rhineland where trading operations were widespread and small-scale farming and manufacturing prevailed. However, even here, the wars of the famous French monarch, Louis XIV, interrupted full recovery by keeping western Germany in a series of continual crises. During the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97), the cities of Mannheim, Heidelberg, Speyer, and Worms were burned, while during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13) a French army was sent into western Germany on a food-destroying expedition. Religious persecution added to wartime woes. The Catholic princes of the Rhineland, intent on establishing religious uniformity, confiscated the property of their Protestant subjects and drove the more recalcitrant into exile. In addition, these petty tyrants, wishing to obtain revenue to live in the grand style of Louis XIV, robbed peasants of their crops and tradesmen of their goods.

In northern Ireland, too, pauperism and starvation were the lot of the people. This region was inhabited by a considerable number of Scottish immigrants. Under the auspices of these hard-working and thrifty people, Ulster had been converted from a backward area into a prosperous land. Her cattle-raising industry developed to such an extent that English landlords soon found themselves faced with serious competition. Accordingly, they appealed to Parliament for aid and Parliament responded by passing a series of laws from 1665 to 1680 forbidding the importation of Irish livestock and dairy products into England. These acts so undermined the Irish cattle industry that Scotch-Irish farmers shifted to wool growing and cloth manufacturing, a move that brought them into competition with English sheep raisers and wool manufactures. At the bidding of these interests, Parliament passed the Woolens Act of 1699, which forbade the exportation of raw wool and woolen cloth from one colony to another or to a foreign country. The ruin of the farmers and artisans of northern Ireland was complete. Writing in the 1720's, Dean Swift, the celebrated author of *Gulliver's Travels,* described how the old and the sick were "every day dying, and rotting, by cold and famine, and filth, and vermin.... And as to the younger labourers they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not the strength to perform it. . . ."[1]

To make matters worse, the long-term leases of many Scotch-Irish farmers expired during the second decade of the eighteenth century. English absentee landlords demanded double and triple rents before they would renew the leases. Those who could not meet the demands were evicted from their farms, their places being taken by Irish tenants. Meanwhile, the Test Act of 1707 forbade Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from holding any but minor offices. The law also suppressed Presbyterian chapels and questioned the legality of Presbyterian marriages.

The impoverishment of the Scotch-Irish and the German Rhinelanders prevented the majority of them from coming to America at their own expense. The necessary funds were supplied by merchants and ship captains who were aware of the high price labor could bring in the colonies. They agreed to ship emigrants to America free of charge. In return for their passage, these poor people allowed the promoters to sell their labor power for a term of years.

So, a flourishing trade in men, women, and children was established. Agents, called newlanders, made their way to western Germany and northern Ireland to drum up business. Posing as rich Americans, these high-pressured salesmen convinced thousands of Rhinelanders and Ulsterites to follow them to

Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Belfast where they were herded into ships bound for America. Each person was packed into quarters six feet by two located between the decks. The trip across was a veritable nightmare. The food was so inadequate that passengers fought for the bodies of rats and mice. Besides, filthy conditions produced every variety of disease. As a result, one out of every three who made the trip during the early eighteenth century died on the way across. The newcomers were generally disembarked at Philadelphia where most of them were immediately sold into servitude—adults being indentured for three to six years, and youngsters until they reached twenty-one. Small children were given away to anyone who would take them. Thus, families were broken up so that parents and children never saw one another again.

It was customary for the German and Scotch-Irish immigrants of the provincial era to move to the frontier after serving their period of indenture. Most of the Germans settled in the back country of Pennsylvania where they simply "squatted" on the land without paying for it. From 1732 to 1740 alone, about 400,000 acres were taken up in this fashion. Eventually, however, these settlers were forced to pay for their holdings with interest, colonial speculators reaping a rich harvest. The Germans soon learned that they could buy land more cheaply in the southern colonies. So, southward they went, settling in the Piedmont region of Maryland, along the Blue Ridge of the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia and in the Carolina up-country west of the Pine Barrens.

In general, the Scotch-Irish occupied the region beyond the German frontier in western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina. Some, however, acquired holdings in New England, especially in the Berkshire and New Hampshire hills. On the eve of the American Revolution, the Scotch-Irish were to be found in nearly 500 settlements scattered throughout the colonies. It is estimated that in 1775 they made up one-sixth of the total population, and the Germans one-tenth.

Besides the Scotch-Irish and the Germans, other non-English immigrants came to America in the eighteenth century. The Swiss, driven by unemployment and oppression, flocked to the New World in such large numbers that measures were taken to stop the mass emigration. Laws were passed depriving those leaving of their citizenship, property, and inheritance rights. Yet, in spite of such legislation, Swiss peasants and artisans stole out of the country, intent on escaping the specter of starvation and the oppression of a landowning nobility ready to sell them as mercenaries to any European ruler willing to pay the price. Similarly, Celtic Irish farmers, faced by impoverishment, left Ireland and came to America in the hope of improving their living condition and obtaining freedom. These lowly immigrants settled mainly in Pennsylvania and Maryland. Although some seemed to have preserved their Roman Catholicism, the majority appeared to have accepted Protestantism. On the other hand, the Jews, settling especially in the coastal towns of Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, kept their religious identity. Although some restrictions were imposed on them, they were not confined to ghettos. On the whole, they adjusted themselves very quickly to their new surroundings and became part of their adopted communities. In addition to these people, French Huguenots and Scotsmen made their way to the colonies during the eighteenth century.

IMMIGRANT CONTRIBUTIONS: These non-English elements who came to provincial America had no sentimental attachment to England and little sympathy with English social traditions and forms. Some, like the Scotch and Celtic Irish who had experienced British oppression and discrimination, hated the very name of England, while others, like the Germans and the Swiss, eventually entertained similar feelings as they came in conflict with petty English officials. When the movement for independence got under way, these "foreigners" supported the anti-British stand of sections of the native population. In fact, the Germans and the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania and South Carolina swung both of these colonies into the revolutionary war against England. The spirit which animated these immigrant groups was well summed up in the following epitaph: "Here lies the remains of John Lewis, who slew the Irish lord, settled Augusta County, located the town of Staunton and furnished five sons to fight the battles of the American Revolution."[2] Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence eighteen were of non-English stock and of these eight were born outside of the colonies.

Those who came to America during the eighteenth century also contributed to the growth of colonial democracy. They fought for the twin democratic principles of representative government and equality before the law. Living for the most part on the frontier, they demanded that they be represented in the colonial legislatures and that all representation be based on population. As firm supporters of equalitarian principles, they fought for equality before the law—the right of every person, high or low, to a fair trial. Since they believed that no one should be permitted to live on another man's labor, they opposed the collection of quitrents and the imposition of ecclesiastical taxes.

Immigrant groups also helped expand the productive forces of provincial America. The "foreigners" provided an enlarged labor supply which helped stimulate the rapidly developing agriculture, industry, and commerce of the thirteen colonies. Furthermore, merchants and planters increased their capital accumulation by exploiting the immigrant's desire for land and employment. In addition, colonial merchants drew profit from taking the surplus products of back country immigrants and of shipping them to the French West Indies. British planters in Jamaica and Barbados found their own continental trade correspondingly reduced. They appealed to England for protection and Parliament answered their plea by adopting measures against the American colonies which resembled those it had passed against the Irish cattle and woolen industries in the seventeenth century. Thus, the coming of the "foreigners" indirectly sharpened the antagonism between the colonies and Britain. It also accentuated the struggle between England and France by pushing settlements into the Ohio River country where the last of the Anglo-French wars in America began. Furthermore, by opening up new lands for settlement, these non-English groups participated in the great economic expansion which characterized the provincial era.

ECONOMIC EXPANSION

GROWTH OF AGRICULTURE: The period from 1689 to 1763 witnessed not only an enormous inflow of immigrants, but also the tremendous growth of agriculture. In the Chesapeake and

Albemarle colonies the area of tobacco cultivation was extended from the Tidewater to the Piedmont * with the result that the production and exportation of tobacco were greatly increased. During the opening years of the eighteenth century, 28 million pounds of tobacco were shipped annually to England. By the eve of the American Revolution England and Scotland were receiving 102 million pounds a year. This increase in production was accompanied by the greater use of slave labor: in Virginia, Negroes made up 43 per cent of the population in 1756 as compared with 24 per cent in 1724; in Maryland 29 per cent in 1755 as against 18 per cent in 1712; and in North Carolina 26 per cent in 1767 as compared with 22 per cent in 1754.

During this expansion, however, the tobacco plantation economy became less and less profitable, owing to soil exhaustion and the increasing cost of production. One reason for the latter was the rising price of slaves. In competition with the rice and indigo planters of South Carolina and, after 1749, of Georgia, the tobacco producers of the Chesapeake area were forced to pay more for Negroes. The cost of slaves advanced from approximately £25 at the opening of the eighteenth century to £30-£35 at the middle of the century and to £40-£50 just before the American Revolution. Other mounting fixed charges included merchants' commissions, import duties, freight and insurance rates, and trucking and storage fees. Besides, there was interest to be paid on debts owed to English merchants, obligations usually contracted during periods of severe business depressions such as 1703-13, 1720-34, and 1756-63. On the eve of the American Revolution Jefferson estimated that the indebtedness of Virginia planters alone reached £2,000,000. At 6 per cent interest the annual tribute would be £120,000. Moreover, English merchants fleeced tobacco planters by charging them excessive prices for merchandise of poor quality. Given the existing situation, Jefferson quite correctly described his fellow planters as "a species of property annexed to certain mercantile houses in London." [3]

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* Geographically, the Piedmont lies at the foot of the easternmost ranges of the Appalachian mountain system; historically considered, it includes all the territory between these ranges and the fall line on the rivers.

Tobacco producers, faced by falling profits, had little thought of investing in the improvement or conservation of their land. They spent no money on fertilizers and paid no attention to such new-fangled ideas as the rotation of crops and deep-soil plowing. Consequently, soil exhaustion set in and the tobacco yield per acre steadily declined. To meet this difficulty, wealthy planters turned to the acquisition of larger holdings. Some of them, like William Byrd II and Robert Carter, obtained estates of gigantic proportions. Byrd owned 100,000 acres of land, while Carter possessed 300,000.

Since soil exhaustion and high fixed charges were making tobacco cultivation less and less profitable, new ventures were started in order to supplement incomes. The more successful planters secured land on the frontier which they sold or leased to newly arrived immigrants. Inasmuch as land values were rising (for instance, threefold in Maryland from 1730 to 1760), high profits were made from these real estate ventures. Even when land was not sold outright, money was made. Daniel Dulany, who had large holdings in Frederick County, Maryland, received rents in 1764 which included 50,000 pounds of tobacco. In addition to land speculation, tobacco planters turned to diversified agriculture with corn and wheat and livestock. Plantations became self sufficient as indentured servants and Negro slaves were taught the trades of carpenter, blacksmith, cooper, and weaver. At first, the surplus produced on these plantations was sold to neighborhood farmers. Later, it was disposed of abroad, staves, hoops, bacon, pork, and grain being shipped to the West Indies and large quantities of wheat to Great Britain. By 1768, Virginia was exporting 55,000 bushels of wheat to the mother country, and Maryland 11,000.

During the provincial period, the plantation system was extended from the Chesapeake and Albemarle country to South Carolina and Georgia. Here rice and indigo * were produced, crops which lent themselves to large-scale farming and slave labor. The cultivation of rice, which was begun in South Carolina during the last decade of the seventeenth century, required considerable capital. Rivers had to be dammed and reservoirs built in order to provide enough water to flood the cultivated

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* Indigo was extensively used as a blue dye.

fields. In addition, Negro slaves were purchased because in the long run they proved to be cheaper than white servants. Although they died in malaria infested swamps just like white men, they showed greater proficiency in the performance of all the tedious operations involved in rice cultivation: hand-weeding, hoeing, harvesting by sickle, threshing by hand-flail and sifting and polishing grains.

From the beginning rice production was a profitable enterprise. Since the product was greatly demanded in Europe and the West Indies, prices were high and a 40 per cent return was not infrequent. Accordingly, the area of cultivation was extended to include not only southeastern Carolina but also Georgia when that colony permitted the introduction of slaves after 1749. As a result of this expansion, rice was shipped in ever increasing amounts. Exports from Charleston rose from 3,000 barrels in 1713 to 125,000 in 1775.

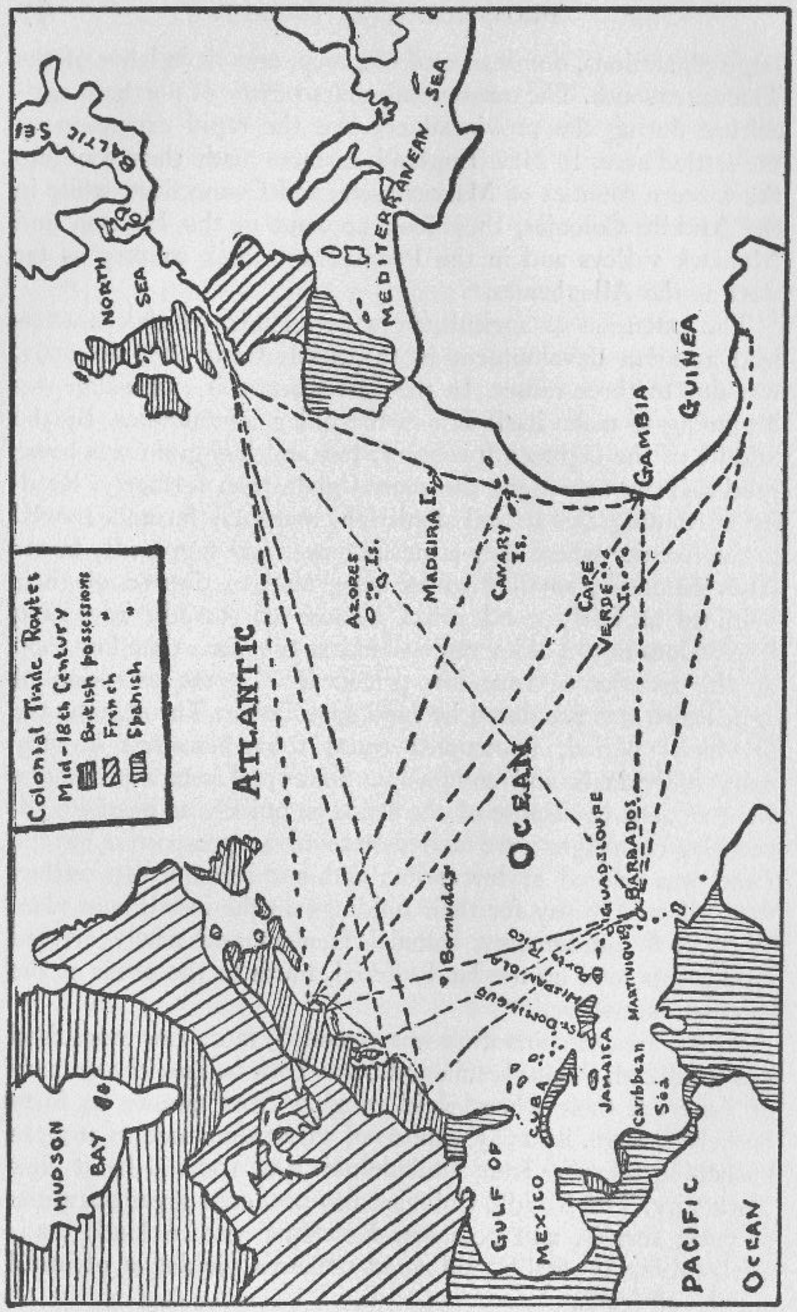
South Carolina and Georgia also produced indigo, which was introduced from the West Indies in the 1740's by Miss Eliza Lucas. The new enterprise, aided by a Parliamentary subsidy, advanced rapidly. As indigo production declined in the West Indies, the demand for the mainland product increased. Exports to England advanced from 200,000 pounds in 1747 to 500,000 on the eve of the American Revolution. Since the demand for indigo was great, substantial profits ranging from 33 per cent to 50 per cent were made. Small wonder that the area of cultivation soon took in the uplands of the interior.

While a slave-plantation system dominated the southern Atlantic seaboard, a free farming economy prevailed in the back-country. From 1689 to 1763, immigrants from abroad and colonists from the older communities settled the hinterland of Virginia, Maryland, Georgia, and the Carolinas. On their small self-sufficient farms wheat, corn, barley, and rye were produced, livestock raised, and clothing and household materials made. All work was done by the farm family itself. Self-sufficient agriculture gradually gave way to commercial farming as a surplus was produced.

The agricultural economy of the northern colonies resembled that of the southern back country. In both regions, small farms, crop diversification and free labor prevailed as distinct from the large plantations, dominance of one crop, and slave labor of the Tidewater south. The outstanding characteristic of northern agriculture during the provincial era was the rapid expansion of the settled area. In New England, farmers made their way into the western counties of Massachusetts and Connecticut, while in the Middle Colonies, they took up land in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys and in the Pennsylvania back country as far west as the Alleghenies.

The extension of agriculture to new lands, which characterized agrarian development in the north from 1689 to 1763, was due to three causes. In the first place, soil exhaustion was beginning to make itself felt in the older communities. By the middle of the eighteenth century, less and less grain was being produced per acre along the coastal plain than formerly. Readily attributing this to soil depletion, marginal farmers moved to the frontier where they acquired newer and supposedly better land. Secondly, small farmers were able to dispose of their holdings at fairly good prices because of steadily advancing land values in the older regions and at the same time buy land on the frontier at very low prices. Finally the extension of agriculture was promoted by land speculation. Throughout the provincial period, unoccupied tracts were bestowed lavishly upon individuals and companies. Since real estate promoters were anxious to dispose of the lands as quickly as possible, advertising campaigns were carried on to attract prospective buyers. Land was offered at low prices and not infrequently settlers were allowed to pay for their holdings on the installment plan. With such inducements, colonial farmers and newly arrived immigrants took up the land offered, much to the profit of the speculators involved.

As the area of cultivation was extended, more and more food was produced. Pennsylvania and New York became the granary of America, their wheat yield ranging from twenty to forty bushels per acre. By 1765, exports of wheat amounted to 367,522 bushels in the year from Philadelphia and 109,666 from New York City. The Middle Colonies also produced great quantities of corn, cereals, and potatoes. Excellent pasture lands made cattle-raising profitable and good orchards yielded a plentiful supply of fruits.


Colonial Trade Routes
Mid-18th Century
▨ British possessions
▨ French "
▥ Spanish "
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
HUDSON BAY
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
Caribbean Sea
CUBA
JAMAICA
St. Domingue
Hispaniola
Porto Rico
Bermudas
GUADELOUPE
MARTINIQUE
BARBADOS
AZORES Is.
MADEIRA Is.
CANARY Is.
CAPE VERDE Is.
GAMBIA
GUINEA
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

COMMERCIAL PROGRESS: Although agriculture was the basic industry of provincial America, the growing wealth of the colonies was derived from trade. This was especially true of the northern (above all, New England) colonies whose far-flung commercial activities enabled them to make profits and to accumulate capital. Their traffic with the West Indies became increasingly valuable, particularly after 1700, with the development of Martinique and Guadeloupe. These two French islands, aided by the benevolent policies of their home country, were able to develop a thriving sugar economy as the eighteenth century advanced. Unlike England, France permitted colonial planters to ship their products directly to Europe without first making them go to French ports and pay additional fees. Nor were native planters forced to pay heavy duties on sugar exports to meet the costs of colonial administration. Furthermore, since their soil was brought under cultivation later than that of their English rivals, they could produce their crops more cheaply; in fact, their prices were from 25 to 30 per cent lower than those charged by the British. At the same time the French West Indian planter was willing to pay more for the commodities he imported. Since France and Canada produced nothing he needed, he turned to England's northern colonies for fish, staves, horses, and lumber. And so a brisk trade developed between the two, much to the dismay of British planters in Jamaica, Barbados, and the Leeward Islands.

During the early eighteenth century, these sugar growers appealed to England for aid against the French. Their appeal was given a sympathetic hearing because of the great stake English merchants had in the British West Indies—capital investments in land and loans, a lucrative commission business, and a fleet of ships engaged in the carrying trade. To protect this huge outlay, the English merchants established a powerful lobby to bring pressure upon the government. Working through an influential Parliamentary bloc composed of persons directly involved in the West Indian trade, the lobby succeeded in obtaining the passage of the Molasses Act of 1733, which placed extremely high duties on all sugar, molasses, and rum imported into the English colonies from the foreign West Indies.

The northern colonies vigorously protested the passage of the Molasses Act. Since they were not allowed to manufacture goods in competition with English industry, they were forced to buy fabricated articles in the mother country. To obtain the necessary purchasing power, they had to find markets for their surplus products. Because they produced nothing that England wanted, they were compelled to look elsewhere for an outlet. Having found it in the foreign West Indies, they were now being told that such markets were forbidden. No wonder they felt that they were being sacrificed for the benefit of inefficient British planters and greedy British merchants.

Fortunately for northern traders, farmers, fishermen, and lumberjacks, the Molasses Act was not enforced. England was too busy fighting commercial and colonial wars with France and Spain to patrol American waters. Besides, she did not want to antagonize the northern colonies whose co-operation was needed for victory. Thus, smuggling took place on a grand scale and the foreign West Indian trade expanded greatly. To appease English planters in the Caribbean, the British government in 1739 permitted them to ship their sugar directly to Europe south of Cape Finisterre.* Further, a subsidy was granted in 1748. These measures proved unavailing, however, and as a result the English planters demanded the suppression of the colonial-foreign West Indian trade. Point was given to the demand when during the Seven Years War (1756-63) it became obvious to all that northern merchants were supplying not only the French islands but also the French fleet in the Caribbean with food. In 1763 approximately one-third of the sugar products imported into America came from the foreign West Indies. It was then that the British government decided to break up the "illicit" traffic and so hastened the outbreak of the American Revolution.

For the northern colonies the West Indian trade was highly profitable. To these islands they sent their surplus grain, fish, staves, horses, and lumber, and in exchange obtained sugar, molasses, and rum, which were sold in home ports at considerable profit. Molasses was especially in demand for it was used in the manufacture of rum. This beverage was the most important item in the highly lucrative slave trade which developed

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* Cape Finisterre is in the northwestern corner of Spain.

after 1715. Rum was shipped from Newport, Salem, Boston, and New York to the west coast of Africa. Here Negroes were obtained and shipped across the Atlantic to the West Indies, the notorious Middle Passage being used for the purpose. Poor food, unsanitary conditions, and crowded quarters combined to produce an exceptionally high mortality rate during the voyage. Yet, despite this toll, substantial returns accrued. With net profits running 33 per cent or more, the slave trade developed so rapidly that by 1771 there were from sixty to seventy vessels engaged in it, each ship delivering about sixty-five Negroes.

All efforts to restrict the slave trade during the provincial period were unsuccessful. It is estimated that as many as 125,000 Negroes were carried across the Atlantic from 1715 to 1760. Since most of them were shipped to the southern colonies, the Negro population there increased much more rapidly than the white. From 1700 to 1760 the number of Negroes rose from roughly 20,000 to approximately 300,000, while the whites increased from a little over 80,000 to more than 400,000. In 1760 the Negroes outnumbered the whites in South Carolina, and the population was about equally divided in Virginia.

Southern planters viewed with alarm this large slave population. And well they might for the Negroes were far from docile. Their militancy was evidenced by numerous revolts. Uprisings took place or were plotted in Virginia in 1663, 1672, 1687, and 1709 and in South Carolina in 1720 and 1739. The South Carolina insurrection of 1739 was particularly bloody. A pitched battle was fought between armed Negroes and the colonial militia during the course of which twenty-one whites and forty-four Negroes were killed. To prevent similar occurrences, South Carolina revised her slave code, an example followed by other colonies. The new codes were so worded that Negroes could not move about without written permission or carry arms or meet with one another. Provision was made for the death penalty in cases of conspiracy. In addition, Negroes were not permitted to testify against white persons on the assumption that they were prejudiced witnesses.

The southern plantocracy tried to meet "the rising tide of color" not only through the adoption of slave codes, but also through the restriction of the slave trade. In general, large planters, well-stocked with chattels, supported this move, some of the more far-sighted seeing in it the possibilities of breeding slaves and of selling them to others. Supported by the freedom-loving farmers of the back country, they secured the enactment of laws imposing high duties on all imported Negroes. These acts, designed to discourage the slave trade, were declared null and void by an English government ever ready to protect British mercantile interests. Incidentally, colonial slave traders were also benefited.

Voices were raised in provincial America not only against the slave trade but also against the institution of slavery. In 1700, Samuel Sewall, a New England theocrat, spoke out against slavery in a tract which bore the Biblical title *The Selling of Joseph*. This successful businessman and judge quoted the Scriptures copiously to show that "all Men, as they are the Sons of *Adam*, are Co-heirs; and have equal right unto Liberty, and all other outward Comforts of Life. God *hath given the Earth* (with all its Commodities) *unto the Sons of* Adam, *Psal.* 115, 16. *And hath made of One Blood all Nations of Men*. . . ."[4] About fifty years after the publication of Sewall's tract, John Woolman, a tailor and teacher by occupation and a Quaker by conviction, condemned slavery in a trenchant essay entitled *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*. This simple and honest man, who lashed out against the inequitable distribution of wealth and who stood for fair treatment toward labor, upbraided both slavery and the slave trade. To him, there was no distinction "betwixt going in Person on Expeditions to catch Slaves, and buying those, with a View to Self-interest. . . . For, were there none to purchase Slaves, they who live by stealing and selling them, would of Consequence do less at it."[5]

These protests, however, had little effect and so the slave trade continued to the profit of northern merchants. Chattels were carried across the notorious Middle Passage and exchanged for sugar, molasses, rum, specie, and bills of credit in the West Indies. Having then been brought back to home ports, the molasses was made into rum to be used in the African trade, the sugar shipped to the mother country in exchange for manufactured goods, and the bills of credit and specie applied to meet the costs of imports from England. In 1700 the northern

colonies imported from the mother country commodities valued at £159,857 and exported products to the value of only £53,661. Sixty-three years later they obtained £781,566 worth of goods from England and shipped to her products valued at only £167,041. This excess of northern imports over exports was due to (1) a lack of exportable products, especially staples, and (2) England's insistence on stifling colonial industry.

Unlike the northern colonies, the southern provinces exported more than they imported from the mother country. In 1700 they shipped commodities to England valued at £331,360 and imported from her goods worth only £184,484. In 1763 the corresponding figures were respectively £939,129 and £850,431. The trade balance of the southern colonies, however, was not so favorable as it appeared on the surface. Since tobacco, rice* and indigo had to pass through England, southern planters were obliged to pay shipping costs, commission fees, portage charges and warehouse rents. It is estimated that commissions alone cost the tobacco producers of the Chesapeake region £100,000 annually. Thus, invisible trade items created in the long run a balance of trade distinctly unfavorable to the southern colonies. Loans had to be obtained from English merchant creditors to make up the difference and so interest rates were added to other fixed charges. Thus, in spite of a threefold increase in their export trade with England, the southern provinces were worse off in 1763 than in 1700. The only thing that could save them from permanent indebtedness was direct trade with Europe, a measure impossible of realization within the existing framework of the British Empire.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the southern colonies attempted to ease their debt burdens through legal action, but each time the English government intervened to protect the interests of English creditors. In 1708, Maryland passed a law which allowed debtors without property to declare themselves bankrupt and thus avoid the obligations they had incurred. This act was declared null and void by the Privy Council on the ground that colonial planters could feign bankruptcy by assigning their land and slaves to relatives or friends and so defraud honest English merchants of their just rewards. In 1749 Virginia enacted a law to permit her citizens to pay their debts in depreciated colonial currency; some five years later the royal governor was instructed by England to veto all such acts.

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* In 1730, 1735, and 1737 Parliament passed acts providing for the shipment of rice directly to European ports south of Cape Finisterre.

EXPANSION OF INDUSTRY: During the provincial era, considerable progress was made in industry as well as in trade. As in the seventeenth century, so in the eighteenth, household manufacturing was still the backbone of industrial production. Owing to the extension of the area of settlement and the improvement of transportation facilities, farmers, especially those located along the eastern seaboard, now began to produce goods for sale. Gradually, they were supplied with wool, flax, and cotton by merchant manufacturers who virtually employed them to work these raw materials into finished products. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the putting-out system was quite widespread in the northern colonies.

Similarly, non-itinerant craftsmen were brought within the scope of capitalist production. Skilled workers, such as blacksmiths, weavers, tailors, hatmakers, and wheelwrights turned to the purchase and working up of raw materials. The finished products were subsequently displayed by them and sold to customers and peddlers. For the most part these settled artisans worked for themselves; very few had enough money to hire journeymen or servants.

Capital for the development of big industry was provided by merchant entrepreneurs. Good-sized sawmills with waterwheels and dams cost between $500 and $1,000 to build, while breweries with malt cellars, storehouses, and horses required an outlay of between $1,000 and $3,000. To establish large ironworks as much as $250,000 was needed. Although some English and German capital was used for the larger projects, most colonial industries were built with funds derived from native sources. In Pennsylvania, capital for iron manufacturing came from such merchants as Morris, Rutter, and Potts, and in Maryland from such large landlords as Carroll and Dulany. A high rate of profit was made from large-scale industry: the Stiegal glass works obtained as much as $13,000 annually, while a Pennsylvania sawmill made $9,600 in 1705, only $3,200 of which was needed to pay maintenance and labor costs.

With an eye to additional profits, industrial promoters opened stores and organized societies for the employment of the poor. Workshops were erected in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston where the indigent were taught how to spin and weave. Everything produced was sold at good prices by the promoters involved. In this fashion philanthropy was turned to profit.

British colonial policy played an important role in shaping American industrial development. Parliamentary legislation was adopted to discourage the growth of colonial industries threatening the interests of English manufactures. In 1699, the Woolens Act was passed forbidding the exportation of American wool, woolen yarn, and woolen goods from one colony to another. In 1732, the Hat Act became law prohibiting the export of colonial-made hats and limiting each American hatmaker to only two apprentices. In 1750, Parliament passed the Iron Act which forbade the erection of slitting mills, plating forges, and steel furnaces in the colonies and removed all duties on pig and bar iron shipped from America to England.

In addition to Parliamentary legislation, the English ruling classes tried to hamper the growth of American industry by nullifying colonial acts designed to encourage its development. When in 1706 Pennsylvania passed a law to stimulate shoemaking, the Board of Trade recommended the disallowance of the act on the ground that it would be to the disadvantage of manufacturers in England. Similarly, the Board urged the nullification of a New York act encouraging the sailcloth industry and gave as its reason that it would be better if all hemp and flax grown in America were sent to the mother country for the use of English industrialists. In like fashion, all colonial legislation designed to foster American industry through the imposition of tariff duties was disallowed by English authorities. These actions tended to discourage industrial development. Even in the northern colonies where manufacturing was most advanced, food and lumber products rather than industrial fabrics dominated the external trade.

By hindering the development of certain industries, England diverted colonial capital into others. Among these was shipbuilding which grew so rapidly that by the opening of the eighteenth century English shipbuilders were asking Parliament for protection. They complained that they were unable to compete with their American rivals whose easy access to excellent timber allowed them to undercut the British cost of production by 20 to 50 per cent. Parliament, however, refused to do anything about the complaint because of its desire to enlarge the British merchant marine. Moreover, many English traders were anxious to acquire the cheaper and better vessels built in the colonies. The American industry, therefore, developed without restrictions, making such tremendous strides that by 1775, 30 per cent of England's merchant marine was made up of vessels built in America and 75 per cent of the trade of the colonies was carried in American-made ships. New England was the center of the industry; in 1772 she produced 68 per cent of all colonial-built vessels as against 14 per cent for the southern colonies, 10 per cent for Pennsylvania, and 8 per cent for New York. Another colonial industry valuable to the mother country was naval stores. Since pitch, hemp, tar, masts, and turpentine were needed by English manufacturers, bounties were extended to American producers which came to as much as £17,000 annually from 1730 to 1750.

STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL IN AMERICA

IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION: To exploit the growing wealth of the colonies, England set up an elaborate system of imperial administration at the head of which stood the king. Actually, however, the task of governing the American provinces was left to regularly established agencies and specially created boards.

The Secretary of State for the Southern Department was one of the most important British officials concerned in the administration of the colonies. In charge of diplomatic relations with France and southern Europe, he initiated policies of far-reaching significance and appointed royal governors,* who were answerable to him for colonial defense and for sending information on intracolonial developments. Even more important in the government of the colonies was the Admiralty Board which enforced the trade acts, supervised the fleet in American waters and put down piracy. Quite secondary was the War Office, whose duties, at least up to the Seven Years War, were mainly of a routine character—recruiting, quartering, and paying for companies of British troops garrisoned in America. The Treasury Department had jurisdiction over the Commissioners of the Customs and the Commissioners of the Mint. The Customs Board looked after the collection of import and export duties, gave advice to other departments regarding commercial policies, and instructed royal governors on how to handle trade and fiscal matters. The Commissioners of the Mint laid down monetary principles to be applied to colonial currency.

Probably the most important body charged with the administration of the colonies was the Board of Trade and Plantations established in 1696 by an act of Parliament and composed of sixteen members of whom eight did the actual work. Interested in making the colonies profitable to English merchants and investors, the board drafted instructions to the royal governors, conducted investigations, heard complaints, drew up laws, and recommended the approval or disapproval of acts passed by provincial legislatures. Although the nearest approach to a colonial office that Britain had in the eighteenth century, the Board of Trade was hampered by one serious shortcoming: it lacked authority to enforce its decisions.

In addition to these agencies of imperial control, England had two others—the Privy Council and Parliament. The former appointed royal governors, disallowed colonial laws, and heard appeals from provincial courts. After 1700 its influence declined as the executive departments assumed special tasks of colonial administration and as a new council of ministers—the Cabinet—developed.

The Cabinet reflected the growing power of Parliament over the monarchy. This was illustrated in colonial affairs by the extension of parliamentary activity to fields previously considered the private preserve of the Crown. Prior to the eighteenth century, the king assumed the power of establishing colonies and revoking charters, but after 1700 Parliament took a hand in both of these matters. In 1729 it authorized the Crown to take away the rights of the Carolina proprietors and in the

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* With the exception of the years 1752-61.

1730's it helped establish the colony of Georgia by giving it annual appropriations running from £8,000 to £26,000. The altered position of Parliament and the king was further illustrated in the field of colonial administration. Not only did Parliament lay down general rules of policy but it also showed an interest in how the colonies were being run. It appointed special committees to consider colonial affairs, made frequent requests for information from executive departments, and created new agencies of imperial control.

The system of colonial administration in eighteenth-century England was not well suited to the government of far-distant possessions. First, there was no special executive body with full authority to manage the colonies. In the absence of such an agency constant juridictional disputes arose. The Admiralty Department came in conflict with the Customs Board over the enforcement of the trade acts. The Ordnance Bureau fought the War Office over the allotment of military supplies. The Board of Trade, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and the Privy Council vied with each other in sending instructions to royal governors. Moreover, many administrative offices were widely scattered—no two of the fifteen connected with the Admiralty was under the same roof. Besides lacking integration, the system of imperial administration was honeycombed with corruption. Consequently, it had a low standard of efficiency and responsibility—all the more so as those filling inferior posts were so irregularly paid that the government frequently owed them back wages. No such difficulty, however, confronted high-ranking placemen. Besides receiving good salaries, and these on time, they were given special emoluments—"gifts" obtained from merchants interested in tangible results.

During the eighteenth century, there were agents of imperial control in America as well as in England. These officials—governors, councilors, secretaries, attorney-generals, surveyor-generals, and justices of the supreme courts—exerted considerable influence on colonial affairs. Especially was this true of the royal colonies the number of which greatly increased from 1689 to 1763 as one province after another lost its proprietary and charter status. By 1763 there remained three proprietary colonies—Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, and two charter colonies—Connecticut and Rhode Island. But the proprietary provinces functioned like the royal colonies except that the proprietor instead of the Crown exercised appointive powers. So the only two American commonwealths that still retained in 1763 a great deal of autonomy (electing their own governors and lesser officials) were Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The royal governor occupied a key position in the British imperial system. As the official watchdog of English interests, he had the power to veto all colonial measures reducing the royal prerogative, such as making paper money legal tender, prohibiting the importation of slaves, or discriminating against English shipping and manufacturing. Besides, he had the power to appoint a number of colonial officials—members of the Council (except in Massachusetts), judges, tax collectors, surveyors, and officers of the militia. By using his appointive power judiciously, he could and did build up a pro-British faction, designated at first "prerogative men" and during the American Revolution Tories.

For the most part the royal governors who were sent to America were men of inferior ability whose sole aim was to improve their personal fortunes. Drawn largely from the ranks of English politicians, soldiers, and lawyers, they owed their positions not to what they knew, but to whom they knew. Under the circumstances, they considered their offices not as sacred trusts but as sources of further enrichment. They therefore sold colonial posts, created political jobs, and split fees, especially when it came to granting land. In short, as Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard aptly put it, "the disposal of patronage was viewed as a branch of colonial trade."[6]

While most of the royal governors worked diligently to add to their private fortunes, some of the more conscientious set themselves the task of finding out how to benefit the British ruling classes. One of them, Sir Francis Bernard, governor of Massachusetts, hit upon the following: "The two great objects of *Great Britain*, in regard to the *American* trade, must be, To oblige her *American* subjects to take from *Great Britain* only, all the manufactures and *European* goods which she can supply them with: 2. To regulate the foreign trade of the *Americans*, so that the profits thereof may finally center in *Great Britain*, or be applied to the improvement of her Empire. Whenever these two purposes militate against each other, that which is most advantageous to *Great Britain* ought to be preferred."[7]

There was, however, one fly in the ointment: England made no provision for the payment of gubernatorial salaries. Bernard and his colleagues were therefore forced to look to colonial assemblies for reimbursement. They were thus placed in a very delicate position. If they did not do what the Americans wanted, their salaries would suffer. On the other hand, if they took care of colonial interests, their jobs might be lost. "I have to steer between Scylla and Charybdis," wrote Jonathan Belcher, the unhappy governor of New Jersey, "to please the king's ministers at home and a touchy people here; to luff for one and bear away for another."[8] Truly, a trying situation.

ROYAL GOVERNORS *vs.* COLONIAL ASSEMBLIES: The antagonism which existed between the royal governors and the colonial assemblies grew out of differences of economic interest. Fundamentally, it was the function of the Crown executives to direct provincial development along lines profitable to English merchants, manufacturers, and creditors. Contrariwise, the colonial legislatures, acting as custodians of American interests, stubbornly refused to accept such exploitation.

The colonial assemblies were representative bodies elected on the basis of property qualifications. In the South, the suffrage was exercised by those holding farms or town lots. In Virginia, voters had to possess fifty acres of undeveloped land or twenty-five of developed. In Georgia, the franchise was given to all those holding an estate of fifty acres in the district in which they lived. In the North, voting was based on personal as well as real property. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, the suffrage was extended to all those owning land which yielded a yearly income of forty shillings or those having other property worth forty pounds. In Pennsylvania voters had to possess fifty acres of real estate or any kind of property worth fifty pounds. Besides property qualifications for voting, there were religious and racial requirements. In Rhode Island, Virginia, and South Carolina, Catholics were barred from the polls, and in New York Jews as well as Catholics were disfranchised by law. In the southern colonies, slaves were not allowed to vote; in Virginia free Negroes were specifically excluded.

Despite the fact that property was widely distributed and the vast majority of free colonials were Protestant, large numbers could not vote. For instance, in Pennsylvania, one-half of the adult male population living in rural districts were kept from the polls, and nine-tenths in Philadelphia—an interesting sidelight on the inequitable distribution of wealth in that urban center.

Property qualifications also existed for office-holding. In some colonies, they were even higher than those required for the exercise of the franchise. In South Carolina, assemblymen had to own five hundred acres of land and ten slaves or possess real and personal property to the value of one thousand pounds. In New Jersey the legislators had to own one hundred acres of land. Thus, the local assemblies consisted of a compact group of property-holders—merchants, planters, and farmers, men of practical affairs who had no intention of permitting royal governors to use them for the benefit of English capital interests three thousand miles away.

These practical-minded Americans, taking their cue from the English Parliaments of the seventeenth century, strove to control the purse strings. They were able to achieve their purpose without too much difficulty because England, anxious to reduce the costs of colonial administration, made no provision for the payment of her agents in America. These officials had to look to colonial sources for support. Local assemblies quickly seized the opportunity; in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina, they voted temporary salary grants to royal governors. The appropriations were usually made for a single year and were generally passed upon at the close of the legislative session when a complete accounting could be taken of gubernatorial actions. It was said of the members of the New York assembly "that if a governor will not blindly consent to their bills, however unreasonable or contrary to instructions, they will starve him into compliance."[9]

In desperation, the royal governors proposed the establishment of a permanent revenue out of which their salaries could be paid. Only two colonies had such a fund: Virginia, where export duties on tobacco were used and North Carolina where quitrents served the purpose. Yet, even in these two provinces the money raised was far from adequate. The advocates of a permanent revenue, suggesting the adoption of the North Carolina plan, emphasized the fact that quitrents were collected everywhere except in New England. However, they refrained from pointing out how small an amount of money was collected. In Virginia, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina the total sum aggregated from £1,000 to £3,000 a year. Georgia and New York furnished little and New Jersey practically nothing. In Maryland, where quitrent payments were best, only £8,000 were obtained annually. The smallness of the sums collected was due to the deep-rooted opposition of Americans to this outmoded form of feudal exploitation. They saw in it a denial of their right to hold property freely and at the same time a source from which revenue could be extracted to make Crown officials independent of colonial assemblies. So, they struggled against the collection of quitrents with the result that the plan to establish a permanent fund came to naught.

Local assemblies used the power of the purse to take over many functions exercised by the executive branch of government. They extended their authority over financial affairs by selecting provincial treasurers (except in New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Georgia), and by appointing committees to supervise expenditures. They also appropriated the governor's power in military matters by passing specific grants designating where forts were to be established and the number of troops to be raised. They secured control over executive appointments through the simple expedient of withholding officers' pay.

By extending their power at the expense of the governor, local assemblies made the colonial courts "the last line of defense for Britain's interests in America." One element in dispute between British and Americans with respect to colonial courts was the question of jurisdiction. The provincial assemblies, believing that local judges were apt to favor their neighbors as against strangers, wished to make the county courts supreme. The English merchants, on the other hand, fearing local pressure on county judges, wanted to increase the authority of the superior courts by granting them original and appellate jurisdiction. The British government looked after the welfare of English groups by disallowing all colonial legislation to extend the power of the county courts.

Controversy over the courts also involved the appointment and removal of judges. Especially obnoxious to the colonial assemblies was the assumption of the power of dismissal by the royal governor acting in the name of the king. Aware that this power was being used to create a judiciary favorable to English interests, the local legislatures in New York, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina passed laws forbidding the removal of judges except for misconduct. These measures were either disallowed or vetoed. Despite this setback, the assemblies were able to exercise a measure of control over judicial tenure by refusing to pay the salaries of new appointees. In so doing, they forced royal governors to think twice before removing colonial-minded judges.

The power of the local purse, however, was insufficient to counter entirely the control of English officials over colonial legislation. From 1675 to 1775, the Board of Trade and the Privy Council disallowed as many as five hundred measures on the ground that they violated Parliamentary statutes, the English common law, or the governor's instructions.

SOCIAL CONFLICTS: While colonial assemblies were establishing their supremacy in America, various groups were contending for power. The social upheavals of 1676 and 1689 had not resolved the basic differences which separated upper class merchants and planters from colonial farmers and artisans. As the plantation economy expanded and trade flourished, the coffers of the colonial aristocracy grew heavier. At the same time the number of small farmers was increased as a result of the unprecedented wave of immigration during the early eighteenth century. Social conflict was accordingly intensified, after 1689, the three principal points in dispute being land distribution, cheap currency, and equal representation.

The struggle over land was particularly bitter. Throughout the provincial period, wealthy merchants and planters used their influence to obtain large tracts of unoccupied land. In North Carolina, the Moores, Moseleys, and others acquired title to 500,000 acres; by 1750 almost all of the good agricultural land in the colony was patented. Much of this land, especially that in the back country, was occupied by "squatters," settlers too poor to go to the seaboard capital to register their claims. Inevitably a sharp struggle arose between them and the large speculators who held title to the land. Especially did the quarrel become bitter when rich operators attempted to evict the settlers. The same conflict over land titles existed in Pennsylvania where matters were further complicated by the policy of the Penn family of withholding proprietary land. To force the Penns to dispose of their holdings more rapidly, the colonial assembly proposed a tax on all ungranted lands. The proposal, having the strong backing of farmers and merchants, was enacted into law in 1759. The measure was condemned by the Penns on the ground that it was "subversive of the principles of right." The governor who signed the act was summarily dismissed. When the assembly passed a similar bill in 1763 which the new governor refused to sign, the legislature sent Benjamin Franklin to London with a petition asking the king to take over the colony.

Similarly, the conflict over land was acute in New York where large landlords encouraged the establishment of a tenant-farmer system similar to that in England. They tried their best to rent rather than sell their holdings and as a result working farmers became tenants instead of independent proprietors. The Van Rensselaers and Philipses granted "durable leases" with rents payable annually in produce or specie. Improvements made on the land accrued to the landlords who also enjoyed milling and mining rights. On some New York estates tenants were even held responsible for taxes. These conditions produced discord; hard pressed yeomen demanded lower rents and tenure security. In desperation, many resorted to violent action as evidenced by the bitter anti-rent disturbances of the 1750's and 1760's.

Another issue in dispute between rich merchants and poor farmers was the question of cheap money. During the provincial period, many small farmers, unable to make both ends meet, obtained loans. Later, unable to pay their debts, they were faced by the possibility of losing their lands through foreclosure. Consequently, they proposed the issuance of a large supply of paper money, believing that the prices of their products would thereby be raised and that they could then more easily meet their outstanding obligations. At the same time they would be paying off their debts in a cheaper currency because the more money in circulation the greater its depreciation. For opposite reasons merchant creditors were in favor of a contracted currency.

Metallic coins were lacking in colonial America because the balance of trade with England brought in no currency from the mother country and the American colonies had no gold and silver mines. The situation was therefore conducive to the use of paper money. In 1690, Massachusets began the practice by issuing promissory notes to help finance the fighting of King William's War. The other New England colonies, along with New York and the Carolinas, followed suit from 1700 to 1715. After that, Pennsylvania fell in line in 1723, Maryland in 1733, Virginia in 1755, and Georgia in 1760. To put more money in circulation, it was suggested that colonial governments issue bills of credit in large amounts and lend them to farmers on the security of their land, up to half of its assessed value. These loans were to be retired in twenty annual installments at 5 per cent interest. All bills of credit were to be accepted as legal tender. Wealthy merchants opposed the land bank idea for two reasons: (1) they viewed with alarm the unlimited issuance of paper money, and (2) they feared the loss of a flourishing loan business.

Bitter conflicts were fought over the establishment of land banks. In 1712 South Carolina established one; within a short time the money in circulation was hardly worth the paper it was printed on. In order to prevent further depreciation, merchants and planters used their control of the governor's council to obtain the redemption of outstanding bills. In the meantime, farmers worked in the assembly to secure the issuance of new notes. The deadlock was finally broken when in 1731 a compromise was reached. Both sides agreed to continue the status quo; no new bills were to be issued and no old ones retired.

A similar conflict took place in Massachusetts. Here so much money circulated that by 1730 notes supposed to be worth an ounce in silver were current at 40 per cent of their value. When in 1733 the governor under pressure approved another inflationary measure, the British government intervened. Since it wished to protect the interests of English creditors, it instructed the royal executive to see that most of the paper money in circulation was withdrawn by 1742. Unfortunately for the governor, a serious economic depression occurred in 1740. As trade declined, farmers and artisans were reduced to dire straits and so demanded that more money be placed in circulation. The legislature responded by establishing a bank which was empowered to print £150,000 in bills to be loaned to farmers in land mortgages of 3 per cent interest, the principal to be paid in twenty yearly installments. The bank, which was quickly organized, immediately printed £49,250 worth of bills.

With this action, the issue was joined. Colonial merchants refused to accept the new notes and, backed by the British government, established their own bank. The farmers responded by marching on Boston and, with the help of artisan elements, saw to the election of a set of councilors hostile to the creditor party. The governor, supported by the large propertied interests of the colony, refused to accept the new councilors. He also dissolved the lower House, jailed the popular leaders, and dismissed from office all justices of the peace and officers of the militia who favored the Land Bank. Meanwhile, the "sound money" men appealed to England to outlaw joint stock companies not specifically authorized by Parliament. The British government did so with the result that the Land Bank was forced to close down. But that was not all; those participating in the venture were held responsible for all obligations contracted. This led to the ruin of many of the bank directors among whom was Samuel Adams, Sr., the acknowledged leader of the "Grand Corkass" of Boston, a club composed of small shopkeepers, mechanics, and North End laborers. This organization saw to the election of artisan leaders to office and to the adoption of liberal measures at town meetings. After 1763, the caucus played a leading role in the formation of the Boston Sons of Liberty, an organization destined to mobilize the rising revolutionary discontent of the time.

The controversy over currency played a decisive part in the politics of Rhode Island, where the farmers dominated the government. So completely was their power established that from 1710 to 1750 nine land banks were formed and £465,000 worth of bills were issued. By the middle of the century, the currency had so depreciated in value that notes supposed to be worth one ounce in silver actually brought one-eighth of that amount. In order to break the power of the farmers, Newport and Providence merchants attempted to raise property qualifications for voting. When they failed to accomplish this, they appealed to England for help. In 1751 Parliament passed a law forbidding the New England provinces to erect new land banks and to make bills of credit legal tender. In addition, Parliament directed those colonies to retire outstanding notes within a specified period of time. The measure, which had the full support of British as well as American merchants, intensified the hostility of colonial farmers to the mother country.

The social conflicts of the provincial period involved the question of equal representation as well as of cheap currency. In the South this issue was of major importance, dividing the Tidewater planters from the back country farmers. As debtors, the latter favored inflation; as creditors, Tidewater plantation owners opposed it. As producers, hinterland farmers were concerned in shipping their goods to the seaboard, and called for the building of roads and bridges. Since such a policy would necessarily involve higher taxes, it was viewed coldly by Tidewater planters. As settlers, the frontiersmen were anxious to have their land titles legalized and their farms protected from Indian attacks. However, seaboard planters were just as eager to protect their rights as land speculators and fur traders. As a result, they opposed all attempts to acknowledge "squatters rights" and to adopt a vigorous Indian policy. As taxpayers, interior farmers advocated levies on slaves and estates, measures obviously to the disadvantage of the large plantation slaveholders of the Tidewater.

Only by securing control of the government could hinterland farmers obtain what they wanted. Since eastern planters already dominated the Council, those living on the frontier sought to gain possession of the assembly. To prevent this, the Tidewater interests resorted to a number of expedients. In Virginia, they established more counties in the east than in the west and gave each two representatives despite the fact that the Piedmont was more populous than the Tidewater. In South Carolina they granted six to eight representatives to seaboard counties and only one or two to those in the uplands. These measures were supported by the British government which did nothing to reapportion assembly seats more fairly.

Frontier farmers demanded not only equal representation but also local self government. They advocated the direct election of sheriffs and justices of peace instead of their appointment by planter-dominated governors and councilors. Furthermore, they proposed the drastic reduction of fees charged by a host of minor clerks, registers, and lawyers.

The struggle between the Tidewater and the back country was particularly bitter in North Carolina, where seaboard planters and merchants ruled with a high hand. To protect themselves, hinterland farmers formed in 1768 an association called the Regulators. Demanding legal taxes and legal fees, the new organization promised to act together under majority rule. The Regulators soon took the law into their own hands; they whipped recalcitrant officials, threatened judges, and freed imprisoned leaders from jail. Governor Tryon, supported by eastern merchants and planters, decided to force the Regulators to conform. An army was raised and sent to the frontier, and in 1771 defeated the Regulators in battle. Seven of their leaders were executed and the movement broken. The defeat, however, served only to intensify frontier hatred of the Tidewater. So deeply rooted was the animosity that many Regulators joined the British forces during the American Revolution rather than side with patriot merchants and planters.

THE CONQUEST OF NEW FRANCE

RIVALRY BETWEEN BRITAIN AND FRANCE: While aristocratic and democratic elements were struggling for control in the British provinces, England and France were battling for mastery over North America. Generally speaking, up to 1689 the English and French colonies had lived at peace with each other thanks to the vast distances which separated them, and to the friendly relations which existed between the Stuart and Bourbon monarchies.

The general picture was radically altered after the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. By that time Englishmen and Frenchmen were coming to grips in a number of widely scattered areas of the New World. In the fur-producing region adjacent to the Great Lakes, the rivals were maneuvering to gain the friendship of the Iroquois Indians who dominated the country linking the Hudson with Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. The British interests, located at Albany, won the day when in 1684 the Iroquois declared their allegiance to Great Britain. The fur trade of the Hudson Bay region also caused strife. Backed by powerful capital interests thousands of miles away, each group tried to get ahead of the other by resorting to trickery, arson, and theft. In preparation for the inevitable day of reckoning forts were built and treaties drawn up with Indian tribes.

Competition between the English and French in America was also strong over the fisheries. Especially acute was the rivalry in the waters off the Newfoundland coast—the "Grand Banks" which attracted fishermen from New England as well as old England. To curtail British activity, the French government sent troops and warships to the island, built forts, and subsidized native fishermen. Within a short time the English were left far behind.

The success of the French at Newfoundland thoroughly alarmed New England fishermen who felt that their turn would come next. To them it seemed obvious that before long the French would be moving in the direction of the Acadian and Massachusetts coasts. Similarly, New England merchants grew apprehensive at the possibility of Canadian ports being used as bases for privateering expeditions. If New Englanders needed any warning of what was to come, they had only to observe what was happening in Maine. The French, anxious to control the fur, fishery, and timber resources of that region, supplied Indians with guns and ammunition and incited them to attack the English settlers.

Despite such incidents, hostilities did not break out in North America until the last of the pro-French Stuarts, James II, was driven from the English throne. The Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 made William of Orange king of England. As stadtholder of the Netherlands, he had led the Dutch in a heroic fight against Louis XIV. Recognized as an unwavering enemy of France, the new ruler was welcomed by British merchants who had become thoroughly disgusted with the old Stuart policy of subordinating English to French commercial ambitions. When Louis XIV refused to recognize William as the lawful sovereign of England, Britain joined the Netherlands, Spain, Austria, and a number of German states in the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97).

FIRST THREE ANGLO-FRENCH CONFLICTS (1689-1748): The French and English colonies immediately took up the European quarrel and King William's War resulted. Britain was so busily engaged in Europe that she was unable to extend much help to the colonies. A limited number of British troops were sent to New York and some warships were dispatched for convoy duty. The main fighting in America was done by the colonists and their Indian allies.

The French, taking the offensive, organized three expeditions to terrorize the New England and New York frontiers. One of these raiding parties destroyed the town of Schenectady, not far from Albany. In the meantime, an ambitious plan to conquer Canada was drawn up by New England and New York. The grand design involved the taking of Montreal by troops marching overland from Albany and the capture of Quebec by a naval force starting out from Massachusetts. The plan was put into execution but failed miserably. The English, however, scored one notable victory—the capture of Port Royal, Acadia, in 1690. They eventually evacuated the town and returned to Boston with considerable booty. Since neither side was strong enough to defeat the other, the war was fought to no definite conclusion. This was likewise so in Europe where the conflict was brought to a close by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697). This agreement practically left conditions as they were before the war started.

Peace, however, was short-lived as France viewed with increasing alarm the growing trade of England with Spanish America. Not only did British merchants supply Spain's colonies with slaves but they also furnished them with general merchandise. To drive the English out of the Spanish-American market, Louis XIV proposed that Spain give French merchants a monopoly of the slave trade. As this proposal was being made, Charles II, King of Spain, died leaving his throne to Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. One of the first things the new ruler did was to grant the French Guinea Company the exclusive right to supply the Spanish colonies with slaves for ten years. To add to the woes of English merchants, the French established a settlement in 1699 at the mouth of the Mississippi River. The new colony was used as a base from which French fur traders penetrated into the southwest, a region formerly dominated by the English. This not only threatened English trade on the southern frontier but also strengthened the position of Spain in Florida. The British government, fully aware of the threat implicit in the union of the French and Spanish empires, united several European rulers into the Grand Alliance. This set the stage for a general European conflict called the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13).

Its American counterpart was known as Queen Anne's War. France neutralized the Iroquois Indians by signing a treaty of friendship with them on the eve of the conflict and by refraining from attacks on their homes. Thus, the brunt of the fighting in northern British America fell on the New England colonies. The French, continuing the tactics they had used during King William's War, organized raiding expeditions to harass frontier towns. One such foray resulted in the massacre of fifty-three people and the capture of one hundred and eleven others at Deerfield, Massachusetts. To stop these savage raids, New England decided to take the offensive and eliminate the French from Canada. In 1708 elaborate plans were drawn up to capture Montreal and Quebec, Britain promising land and naval forces. Even New York, which up to that time had adopted a policy of non-intervention, signified her willingness to participate. However, the entire project was abandoned when news reached America that the expected British regulars would not be sent since they were needed in Portugal. Two years later (1711) the plan was put into execution. With the English leading the way, two expeditions were organized, one to take Montreal, the other Quebec. Neither force succeeded in attaining its objective. In the meantime, though, a joint British and colonial army captured Port Royal in Acadia (1710).

South Carolina also felt the brunt of Queen Anne's War. In 1702 the Spaniards launched a land attack from Florida, but the English colony was strong enough to repel it. South Carolina then instituted an offensive of her own but without achieving any major success. In 1706 a combined Spanish and French fleet was defeated when it attempted to take Charleston.

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) ended the war in both Europe and America. Under its terms, France recognized the British protectorate over the Iroquois and ceded Newfoundland, Acadia and the Hudson Bay region to England. British control of these areas gave English and colonial fur traders and fishermen a great advantage over their French and Canadian rivals. From Spain England received Gibraltar and Minorca and British merchants were given the exclusive privilege of supplying the Spanish-American colonies with slaves for thirty years (the Asiento agreement).

The Treaty of Utrecht ushered in a period of comparative peace which lasted from 1713 to 1740. During these years, Britain attempted to consolidate her gains, restore her trade with France, and strengthen her grip on colonial commerce. However, nothing was done during this period to remove the cause of the rivalry between Britain and France. On the contrary, competition between the two was intensified, especially when the French built a fort at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. This fort, which commanded the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was used by the French as a base for ships preying on the commerce and fisheries of New England. Moreover, the French were extending their control over the rich fur-producing area adjacent to the Great Lakes much to the dissatisfaction of British traders. And Englishmen and Frenchmen were fighting over the fur traffic of the Gulf region as well.

In this area the English had another rival, Spain, which laid claim to the territory north of Florida. Especially acute was the dispute over Georgia which the British had colonized in 1733. The English government replied to the Spanish demand that the territory be evacuated by sending regulars to defend it.

The quarrel along the Florida frontier was only a small part of a much larger picture. Spain charged British merchants with breaking the Asiento agreement of 1713 by trading in general merchandise instead of in slaves. She complained that the English were stationing an "annual" ship off Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Panama. This vessel, whose cargo was being restocked by night, was thus evading the treaty provision that allowed one British ship a year entry to that port. Spain, regarding this action as illegal, seized British traders and ships. The English responded by taking over Spanish vessels. Finally, in 1739, Spain suspended the English-held Asiento and the "War of Jenkins' Ear" * broke out.

The Anglo-Spanish conflict soon merged into a general European struggle called the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48). The only military event of importance connected with this war in America was the capture of Fort Louisbourg in 1745 by more than four thousand New England troops and three British warships. The expedition was commanded by William Pepperrell of Maine, one of the richest men in America and deeply interested in northern lands and fisheries. Pepperrell was made a baronet for his work, the first American-born colonist to receive that title. The war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). Britain restored Louisbourg to the French, much to the disgust of New England. In return, the British East India Company regained Madras, which had been lost to the French during the fighting in India.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR: By the middle of the eighteenth century, Anglo-French rivalry in America was focused on the Ohio Valley country, especially on what is now eastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania and West Virginia. This region was of strategic significance to France since it served as a connecting link between her possessions in Canada and in Louisiana. The security of her whole American empire depended upon her ability to hold this area. Similarly, this region was of great importance to the English, particularly to Virginia planters and Pennsylvania merchants. By 1750, both of these groups were anxious to find new fields for capital investment, the Virginians because of the contraction of their tobacco economy and the Pennsylvanians because of British restrictions on colonial manu-

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* So called because a certain Captain Robert Jenkins went about England with a box containing one of his ears which he claimed had been cut off by the "bloody" Spaniards while plundering his ship.

facturing. Since the Ohio country was rich in furs and arable land, the businessmen of Virginia and Pennsylvania turned to it.

A keen rivalry developed between them. To offset the initial successes of the Pennsylvania group, a number of wealthy Virginian planters—Lee, Fairfax, Nelson, Lawrence and Augustine Washington—organized the Ohio Company. Backed by Robert Dinwiddie, royal governor of Virginia, and John Hanbury, a London merchant, the company obtained from the king in 1749 a grant of 200,000 acres of land on both sides of the Ohio and a promise of 300,000 more if a hundred families were settled on the original tract within seven years. While the Ohio Company was preparing to settle the grant, the French pushed into the region. George Washington, then only twenty-one, was dispatched by Governor Dinwiddie to demand the withdrawal of the French. When the latter refused, Washington returned to Virginia, raised a small force and went back to the Ohio country where he met the French in battle and defeated them. However, he quickly withdrew and built Fort Necessity. In July, 1754, the French attacked and captured the fort. So began the French and Indian War.

General Braddock was sent to Virginia with 1,500 British regulars to avenge Washington's defeat and to expel the French from the Ohio valley. In the summer of 1755, this brave but stubborn officer set out for Fort Duquesne. Seven miles from his destination Braddock was surprised and routed by 900 French and Indians who fought from behind rocks and trees according to the approved tactics of frontier warfare. So decisive was Braddock's defeat that the whole campaign to take Fort Duquesne was abandoned. Unsuccessful also was the British attempt to capture Fort Niagara, which controlled the portage * between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Likewise, the English failed to take Fort Crown Point, which dominated the route to Canada by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River. The only British success in the unlucky year of 1755 was the capture of Fort Beauséjour in the Nova Scotia area. In 1756, when the French and Indian War became part of a general European conflict called the Seven Years' War, France sent

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* A break in a line of water communication over which goods and boats have to be carried.

the Marquis of Montcalm to Canada as commander-in-chief. Under his direction, the French took the offensive and captured two important English forts—Oswego on Lake Ontario and William Henry on Lake George.

These reverses brought William Pitt to power in England in 1757. Since the new minister was convinced that "when trade is at stake, you must defend it or perish," he energetically turned his attention to the American theater of war. No longer interested in merely defending British possessions in the New World the forceful Pitt was determined to drive the French out of North America. From the beginning, success crowned his efforts; in 1758 the British took Forts Louisbourg, Frontenac, and Duquesne and in 1759 Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point. In that year the brilliant young General Wolfe captured Quebec and in 1760 Montreal fell to the English and all Canada surrendered. The war dragged on for a few years more, the British taking Cuba and the Philippines from Spain (1762) and Martinique from France (1762). In 1763 the Treaty of Paris was signed and the death knell of the once extensive French empire in America was sounded.

During the peace negotiations, the British were faced by the question of whether to keep the French West Indies or Canada. Those who favored the retention of the Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe argued that their trade was larger than that of Canada, that the French West Indies would promote the commerce of New England and thus turn her away from manufacturing, and that the expulsion of France from Canada would encourage a spirit of independence among the American colonies. On the other hand, those who urged that Canada be kept argued that such a step would give Britain control of the valuable North American fur trade, that it would enlarge the market for English manufactured goods, and that it would in no way lessen the dependence of the colonies on England.

The decision at Paris to keep Canada was influenced by three considerations: (1) British planters and investors in the West Indies were opposed to the admission of Martinique and Guadeloupe into the British Empire; (2) English merchants were attracted by the possibilities of monopolizing the lucrative fur trade; and (3) the American colonies insisted on the elimination of the French from the mainland.

By the Treaty of Paris, France gave Britain Canada and the trans-Allegheny West. Spain ceded Florida to England, obtained in return her lost colonies—Cuba and the Philippines, and received all the French territory west of the Mississippi. Thus, by the settlement of 1763, France was practically eliminated from America, her passing leaving England the greatest colonial and commercial power in the world, rivaled only by a rapidly decaying Spain.

TOWARD AN AMERICAN CULTURE

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS: The century and a half which elapsed between the founding of Jamestown and the fall of New France saw the emergence of a distinctive American culture. Although nothing new or exceptional in the arts and sciences was produced in America during this period, significant advances were made in both fields, despite the primacy of economic tasks in a frontier community. The early settlers worked unremittingly to eke out a precarious existence. Busy with axe, hoe, and saw, they had little time or energy left at the end of a working day to engage in cultural pursuits. Accordingly, great literary masterpieces or celebrated musical compositions could not be expected of them. Theirs was essentially the task of extending the borders of civilization, not of making new contributions to it. Especially was this true of the seventeenth century; much less so, of the first half of the eighteenth, by which time the accumulation of wealth had reached a point permitting a modicum of leisure. Benjamin Franklin had this in mind when he wrote in 1749:

> "In the settling of new countries, the first care ... must be to ... secure the necessaries of life, this engrosses their attention and affords them little time to think of anything further.... Agriculture and mechanic arts were of the most immediate importance; the culture of minds by the finer arts and sciences was necessarily postponed to times of more wealth and leisure."[10]

By about the middle of the eighteenth century such times had arrived. Stately mansions were being built in the English style, competent musicians were rendering the music of Handel and Haydn, craftsmen were producing works of high artistic merit, theaters were being opened and new colleges founded. In short, America was coming of age. Unfortunately, however, much of its culture was imitative, a situation due largely to the fact that those who had the money aspired to emulate the manners of the English landed gentry. Thus, the culture of provincial America, as expressed in music, literature, drama, and the handicrafts, was the culture of contemporary England. So assiduously did well-to-do planters and merchants ape the ways of wealthy Britons that both appeared to be cut from the same pattern.

Alongside of this pro-British, upper class culture a distinctly American culture evolved during the colonial period. Primitive contacts with nature gradually changed the cultural patterns brought over by peasants, artisans, and indentured servants. Under the impact of the American wilderness, European tools, techniques, homes, clothes, and even dialects underwent subtle and profound changes. Moreover, the coming of non-English immigrants—Germans, Scotch-Irish, French Huguenots, and others—melted Americans into "a new race of men," markedly different from any in Europe. As the seventeenth century passed into the eighteenth, a colonial self-consciousness developed which expressed itself in an increasing interest in the past, in the vision of a bright future and in the doctrine of "imperial grandeur."

CLASS STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY: Like the Old World, the New had its "upper" and "lower" classes. Among the former were the great planters of the South whose wealth was derived from the labor of dependent servants and slaves. As a class, they sought to imitate the English aristocracy which they regarded as the epitome of moderation, breeding, and learning. They brought up their sons to be cultured gentlemen capable of appreciating the classics and of understanding law, history, literature and science. In Virginia future tobacco planters were sent to William and Mary College where toward the close of the colonial era they studied under William Small, an inspiring and liberal professor of natural philosophy and mathematics. In South Carolina, rice millionaires, distrustful of the "radicalism" of William and Mary and the strict Calvinism of the University of New Jersey (Princeton) and Yale, sent their sons to England where they were instructed particularly in the law.

The big planters of the South did not believe in learning only for the sake of learning. They studied Blackstone and Coke to become better judges, politicians, and businessmen. They read the classics to learn what kind of medicines to use for sick slaves and ailing cattle. And they pored over agricultural tomes to find out how to replenish the soil.

As in the field of education, so in the world of sports southern planters tried to perpetuate the traditions of the English landed gentry. Like their British cousins, they indulged in horse racing, fencing, fox hunting and occasionally in cricket. So exclusively did they consider these sports their own that in 1674 a hapless Virginia tailor was fined for taking part in a horse race. They fancied fox hunting to such an extent that they went to the trouble and expense of importing animals from the mother country. By the end of the colonial period, jockey and hunting clubs were to be found throughout the South at which gentlemen, dressed in curled wigs, waistcoats, knee breeches and silk stockings, gathered to discuss politics, horses, and the fair sex.

Living conditions among the southern plantocracy reflected the same English upper class influence. Palatial residences, built of brick and stone in the Georgian style, dotted the Tidewater. Their beauty was much enhanced by spreading lawns, delightfully secluded groves, and excellently cared for walks. Inside these elegant homes were graceful stairways, polished floors, decorated mantels, and carved doors. Well-made furniture reflected the growing wealth of the planters and the developing skill of colonial cabinet makers. Although provincial craftsmen were forced to cater to the tastes of their clientele by following the work of the Englishman Chippendale, they produced distinctly American pieces like the highboy, a chest of drawers with brass handles raised about two to three feet above the floor.

While the great planters of the South followed the main patterns of English upper class life, the peculiar development of the American economy produced some deviations. The requirements of the plantation system led southern aristocrats to belabor commerce and trade much less than their English counterparts. Some of them, in fact, actually encouraged their sons to become merchants. Similarly, the availability of land and the relative undevelopment of the country played havoc with the English idea of fixed class lines. A self-made man like Peter Jefferson might marry into one of the first families of Virginia.

Like the wealthy planters of the South, the substantial merchants of the North tried to imitate the manners, customs, and interests of the English landed gentry. They too were devotees of polite learning and as such turned to the classics and belles-lettres. They attended concerts where in strict conformity with European standards the music of Handel, Corelli, and Haydn was rendered on instruments then in vogue in the Old World. Yet, in spite of such vagaries, the lordly merchant was essentially a practical man. Since a knowledge of navigation, law, accounting, and modern languages was essential to business transactions, he demanded that these subjects be taught. Partly in response to this demand the colleges of the country toward the close of the colonial period broadened their curriculum to offer, in addition to the classics, modern languages, mathematics, history, and law.

The colonial plutocracy patronized the arts and the sciences just as the English aristocracy did. Rich merchants attended the theater where after 1740 the plays of Shakespeare, Steele, and others were presented. They encouraged the rise of music not only by going to concerts but also by forming societies which obtained the best musicians available. They fostered collegiate education by contributing books, scientific apparatus, and money to institutions of higher learning. They sat for local portrait painters like Robert Feke and donated money to others like Benjamin West who went abroad to study.

Rich merchants likewise tried to imitate English country gentlemen by living in the grand manner. By the end of the colonial period, their houses too were made of brick and stone. They were usually three stories high with dormer-windows lighting the top floor and with chimneys at each end. Inside, the houses were furnished with the same elegance that characterized the homes of the southern aristocracy.

A wide social and cultural gulf separated the dominant mercantile and planting classes from the large mass of farmers, tradesmen, artisans, and laborers. These groups did not have the means or the time to develop intellectual interests. The things they learned were not to be found in books; rather were they derived from daily labors in fields and shops. Their culture was much more indigenous to the American environment than that of well-to-do planters and merchants. Their houses were more truly American than the Georgian mansions of the colonial gentry. Moreover, their homespun clothes were more akin to the New World than the lace ruffles, satin breeches, and silver buckles of provincial aristocrats.

During the colonial period, the great body of farmers, who comprised the majority of the population, played the leading role in the development of a distinctive American culture. Working in the fields from sunrise to sunset, they had little time for reading. Despite this handicap, they acquired considerable practical knowledge in connection with agriculture, the seasons, trees, and animals.

Although colonial farmers had hardly any time to read, most of them were literate. In New England, the three 'Rs—reading, writing and arithmetic—were taught in town-supported schools. In other parts of the country, instruction in these subjects was given in institutions maintained by churches, supplemented in the South by "old-field" schools. The latter were financed by farmers living in the neighborhood and were usually situated in centrally located places.

Colonial yeomen obtained intellectual stimuli from various sources. Religion was one. Especially provocative were the sermons of liberal clergymen who introduced their parishioners to the social contract theory of Locke, a doctrine which they readily used against the political misrule of their "betters." Almanacs also served as a source of intellectual stimulus. These booklets contained a great deal of useful information—practical advice on the planting of crops, astronomy, medicine, and politics. Some even included the writings of celebrated English authors. To what extent almanacs circulated among provincial farmers is hard to say. Probably they did not reach many; certainly the vast majority on the frontier knew nothing of them. In these back country communities, schools and churches were conspicuous by their absence and even Bibles were hard to find. Yet, here

also there was some intellectual activity. Ballads, going back to Elizabethan times, were sung and adapted to New World experiences. In this way American folk songs emerged which dealt with the grimness of warfare, mercy toward the poor, and justice for the oppressed.

Farmers participated in amusements which combined business with pleasure. The "drive" to clear the neighboring woods of wild animals and the important tasks connected with house raising and log rolling served as festive occasions. At country fairs, held in every colony outside of New England, farmers found time to carry on business and to attend puppet shows, wrestling matches, and horse races.

This same utilitarian spirit was exhibited in the way in which farmers lived. In the older rural communities, they built houses usually two stories high and consisting of a central hall with five low ceiling rooms—three downstairs and two upstairs. The principal room was the kitchen which served as parlor, living room, dining room, and work room. The furniture, most of which was homemade, was designed to save space and to be useful. Bedsteads were set on high legs so that the small beds of children could be rolled underneath. In the absence of closet space, clothes were hung on pegs or put into chests. Water brought into the house from the outside was hardly fit to drink. So, wine, cider, beer, and rum were consumed in large quantities. Bathing was limited to swimming during the summers. Lighting effects were poor and since matches were unknown great care was taken to preserve the chimney fire.

On the frontier farm houses were even less comfortable than in the older communities. Here log cabins consisting of a kitchen, sleeping room, and attic were scattered about the countryside. The center of activities was around the chimney. Although tiny windows were to be found in the kitchen, the only ventilation the sleeping room had were the cracks in the wall. Wooden planks served to cover the cabin floor.

Farmers were dressed in homemade clothes designed for long wear. A good suit or dress was expected to last for at least two generations. During the summer months, men wore long pantaloons, linen shirts, and caps; in the winter, shoes and stockings were added as well as mittens, fur-lined overcoats, and coonskin caps. Women wore homespun dresses and linen and woolen petticoats. Jewelry was so scarce that comparatively few colonial families could boast of possessing a ring or two.

Far less numerous than the yeomanry were the tradesmen, artisans, and laborers of the cities. As population increased and commerce expanded towns grew in size. During the provincial period, about one out of every ten people lived in urban centers. Of these Philadelphia was the most populous; on the eve of the Revolution it had some 40,000 inhabitants. At that time it was followed by New York with 25,000 to 30,000, Boston with 20,000 and Newport with 12,000. These towns offered great opportunities for intellectual activity because of the close commercial ties binding them to old England, the many different national groups residing in them, and the large body of men interested in professional pursuits. The establishment of evening schools, particularly as the eighteenth century advanced, afforded shopkeepers, mechanics, and workingmen an opportunity to satisfy their intellectual curiosities. Similarly, craftsmen had a chance, especially after 1740, to hear lectures on navigation, astronomy, and electricity.

During the provincial period, artisans made significant contributions in each of these fields. Thomas Godfrey, Philadelphia glazier, who studied Latin in his spare time in order to read Newton's celebrated *Principia Mathematica,* was one of the inventors of the quadrant which proved to be a great aid in navigation. David Rittenhouse, who began his career as a clock maker, greatly improved the telescope and in addition made important contributions to astronomy. The work of Benjamin Franklin in electricity won for him a world-wide reputation.

Colonial craftsmen also made significant contributions to the development of art. Jeremiah Dummer, born in Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1645, became "the first native American painter of competence."[11] His portrait of a fellow craftsman and wife is regarded as one of the best of the American "primitives." Dummer was also a silversmith and as such produced some of the finest ecclesiastical pieces of his day. Another contemporary New Englander, John Foster, distinguished himself by his excellent woodcuts. In the eighteenth century Paul Revere continued the tradition of Dummer and Foster by producing beautifully designed silverware and first-class engravings. Revere employed his artistic talents to advance the American revolutionary movement of 1765–75. His most celebrated work was a copper plate engraving of the Boston Massacre which went through three editions. Skilled workers contributed to the household as well as to graphic arts. During the eighteenth century, American cabinet makers made delicate cupboards, beautiful leather-backed chairs, and exquisitely carved boxes.

Colonial craftsmen showed an interest not only in art but also in reading. In 1731 Benjamin Franklin, aided by poor tradesmen and mechanics, started a subscription library which contained a variety of books. From 1745 to 1763 no less than seventeen libraries were founded in the colonies. Besides books, shopkeepers and artisans read newspapers. The first regular one to appear in America was the *Boston News-Letter* in 1704. Between 1713 and 1745 twenty-two weeklies were founded, seventeen of them north of Maryland. Although newspapers were expensive, they could be obtained at taverns frequented by the poorer classes. These weekly sheets contained essays, poems, shipping information, and political news. Colonial authorities particularly regarded items on politics with suspicion and so attempted to throttle the press. In 1733 Peter Zenger, publisher of *The New York Weekly Journal,* was arrested on the charge of attacking the royal governor of the province. The eighty-year-old Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia was retained to defend Zenger. Stressing the issue of a free press, he said, "...the Question before the Court...is not of small nor private Concern, it is not the Cause of a poor Printer, nor of *New-York* alone....It is the Cause of Liberty; and I make no Doubt but your upright Conduct, this Day, will not only entitle you to the Love and Esteem of your Fellow-Citizens; but every Man, who prefers Freedom to a Life of Slavery will bless and honour You...."[12] The verdict was "not guilty" and the precedent of a free press laid down. So the following piece dedicated "To Spring" could be printed for the edification of the underprivileged:

Now the pleasant time approaches;
Gentlemen do ride in coaches;

But poor men they don't regard
That labor to maintain them hard.[13]

The import of these lines was well understood by lowly tradesmen, artisans, and workingmen, who had only to look about them to observe the inequitable distribution of wealth prevailing in these cities in the wilderness. Their shabby and coarse clothes stood out sharply against the elegant attire of lordly merchants. The same could be said for their poor and dilapidated homes in contrast with the stately mansions of the rich. No wonder dissatisfied shopkeepers and workingmen began to come together in caucuses toward the close of the colonial period and plan to obtain the passage of favorable legislation at town meetings.

Occupying the bottom rung of the social ladder—below free artisans and yeomen—were white indentured servants and Negro slaves. The former made up a considerable portion of the population in the area south of New York. Between 1635 and 1705 anywhere from fifteen hundred to two thousand servants were annually imported into the tobacco colonies alone. Although the yearly total declined steadily in this region after 1705, it increased greatly in the middle colonies where German redemptioners were brought over by the boatload during the first half of the eighteenth century.

White servants lived under the most deplorable conditions. Since their term of servitude was limited to a relatively short period (about four years), masters made every effort to extract the maximum amount of labor. Literally worked to the bone, many contract laborers escaped. Fugitive laws were accordingly passed and rich rewards offered for the return of runaway servants. Those who remained to work out their period of indenture were given at the time of their freedom clothing, a gun, a small sum of money, and, in some colonies, land.

White servants were employed not only as field hands but also as skilled workers. Advertisements frequently appeared in eighteenth-century newspapers announcing the sale of tailors, carpenters, weavers, and coopers. The price asked for such servants was usually much higher than for those who knew Latin or French or mathematics. These were often used on tobacco and rice plantations to tutor the sons and daughters of the colonial aristocracy.

Like indentured servants, Negro slaves had a hard lot. Although a good number came to America prior to 1700, most of them entered after that date. By 1763 the Negro population came to over 300,000 as against roughly 20,000 in 1700. Regarded as a species of property, the Negroes were deprived of all legal and political rights. They had nothing to look forward to and were kept in a subordinate position. As the institution of slavery developed, social differentiation set in on the large plantations. Negroes who worked as domestics in the big house occupied a position of priority. Some were even taught to read and write and in turn instructed the sons and daughters of the plantocracy in higher as well as elementary education. Next came the slaves who had developed special skills. As carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths and wheelwrights, Negroes acquired such a high degree of competence that they were frequently hired out, much to the dissatisfaction of competing white craftsmen and wage earners. Lastly, came the field hands who lived in crude huts, were fed salt pork, and wore coarse clothing.

In those areas where the Negroes were to be found in large numbers they exerted an influence on colonial culture. The white man's folklore was enriched by African tar baby and rabbit stories. Similarly, his folk songs were given a new flavor and spirit when sung by slaves. In a like fashion, Negro influences subtly changed the white man's idiom, pronunciation, and dietary habits. If Negro slaves made no direct contributions to colonial culture, it was only because they were not given the opportunity to do so. When given the chance, many achieved a high degree of competence. This was reflected in the poetry of Jupiter Hammon and the almanacs of Benjamin Banneker toward the close of the provincial period.

Except for the fixed status of slaves, flexibility distinguished the American from the European social scene. Owing to the abundance of land, the scarcity of labor and the newness of the country it was much easier to rise from one class to another in the New World. It was not uncommon in colonial times to see indentured servants become landowners and artisans, and small farmers and shopkeepers become landlords and merchants.

American society differed in still another way from the European. In the New World no class of serfs bound to the soil and to a titled nobility existed. Instead an equally vicious institution —Negro slavery—developed in the South.

Despite the uniqueness of American economic development, which resulted in the modification of Old World social patterns, a conscious effort was made to transplant the European system of ranks and orders to the colonies. In seventeenth-century New England titles such as "gentleman" and "esquire" were used for wealthy landlords and merchants, "master" for clergymen, "mister" for professional people, and "goodman" for ordinary persons. Family or first names were employed in addressing tenants, workers, indentured servants, and Negro slaves. Social rank was the basis for the assignment of seats in church and for the listing of student names at Harvard College. Laws were passed forbidding "men and women of mean condition" to go about in silks and laces as if they were lordly gentlemen and grand ladies.

Similarly in seventeenth-century Virginia, every effort was made to preserve the class lines prevailing in old England. In this colony "patricians" required yeomen, artisans, and indentured servants to wait outside the church until their "betters" had been seated in specially designated pews. In seventeenth-century Maryland and Carolina, attempts were made to create feudal principalities and a titled nobility. However, the democracy of widely distributed property proved too much for feudalism and its aristocratic corollary—ranks and orders.

THE COLONIAL FAMILY: Like the class structure of colonial society, family life in America followed Old World patterns, albeit in a modified form. As the basic unit of production, the average colonial family had to be large. Patrick Henry, who was destined to play a leading role in the American Revolution, was one of nineteen children, and John Marshall, later to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, one of fifteen. Child mortality in the colonies was exceedingly high owing to the rigors of frontier life and the backwardness of medical science. It is estimated that only four out of ten children survived in Pennsylvania. Because of the relative scarcity of labor large families were a definite economic asset. Boys sowed seeds, weeded fields, and sawed wood, while girls helped in spinning, weaving, and cooking.

Thus, economic productiveness along with the Biblical precept to multiply were conducive to early marriages. Girls of sixteen to eighteen and not infrequently thirteen to fifteen married young men in their late 'teens or early 'twenties. Among working farmers, shopkeepers, and artisans, qualities of industry and thrift were looked for in the prospective mate, while among well-to-do planters and merchants the size of the dowry was the determining factor. Marrying below one's rank was frowned upon in upper circles and so intermarriage among the first families was encouraged. To keep estates intact, colonial aristocrats resorted to another expedient, namely, the semi-feudal idea of primogeniture (the eldest son's right of inheritance). On the other hand, among small farmers and artisans the property of the deceased was usually distributed equally among the children.

The uniqueness of American development produced one significant change in the Old World pattern of family relations. Throughout the colonial period, more men than women migrated to the New World. Therefore, wives who could cook, bake, spin, and weave were sought after. Because of their relative scarcity they were able to assume a much more important place in family councils than their European sisters. Under the circumstances the law recognized the wife's right to one-third or one-half of the estate of her husband if the latter died without a will—a clear acknowledgment that the property accumulated was the result of a joint effort. In New England wives were protected against brutality by the passage of legislation inflicting heavy penalties on cruel husbands. The improved status of women was further reflected in the liberalization of divorce procedures. The Puritans, rejecting both the Catholic ban and the Anglican stipulation of adultery, made desertion and cruelty grounds for divorce. Some colonial thinkers took an advanced position in respect to women. Benjamin Franklin for one insisted that the only reason women appeared to be intellectually inferior to men was due to the limitations imposed upon them by their fathers, husbands, and brothers. Franklin's protege, Thomas Paine, sounded the call for emancipation when he argued in favor of justice, if not political rights, for women in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* of August 1775.

THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION: The sanctity of the family was part of the Christian tradition that the colonists brought with them to America. Acting as custodians of that tradition was the clergy which quite early assumed a leading role in the intellectual life of the colonies. Especially did the ministry play a prominent part in the establishment of American collegiate education. Harvard, 1636; Yale, 1701; and Dartmouth, 1769, were founded to serve as a recruiting ground for Congregational clergymen; William and Mary, 1693, and Kings (Columbia), 1754, for Anglican; the College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1747, for Presbyterian; the College of Rhode Island (Brown), 1764, for Baptist; and Queens (Rutgers), 1766, for Dutch Reformed. In fact, the only secularly inspired college to be launched in colonial America was the Academy of Philadelphia (1749), because of both the Quaker rejection of the idea of a trained clergy and the growing influence of Franklin and his friends. But even here ministers provided the main body of the faculty. Despite the growing interest in secular matters, the majority of college students were studying for the ministry right down to the end of the colonial period.

The clergy dominated not only collegiate but also secondary and elementary education. In New England, ministers supervised town-supported schools. In the absence of Latin grammar schools they prepared students for college. In the middle and southern colonies, clergymen ran their own schools. Besides, the Anglican Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge founded libraries which included, in addition to theological works, books on mathematics, history, and agriculture.

The Christian tradition was chiefly characterized by a belief in the supernatural. According to it, the universe was created in six days by a Supreme Being who existed prior to and independent of it. After having created the world, God carefully watched over it, his interest being attested by miracles performed for the edification of the wicked.

The depravity of man was an integral part of the Christian tradition. In the long, long ago, man, who was created in the image of God, had fallen from grace when Eve succumbed to

temptation in the Garden of Eden. Thereafter, man was born in sin. To the strict Calvinists—Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Dutch Reformed—this meant that all but the chosen few were destined to eternal punishment. This thesis was the gist of Michael Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom.* This poet, one of the most popular in seventeenth-century New England, makes Christ say the following to a group of non-elect children:

A crime it is, therefore in bliss
you may not hope to dwell;
But unto you I shall allow
the easiest room in Hell.[14]

The same doctrine of eternal punishment was to be found in the writings of Jonathan Edwards, regarded by some as one of the greatest philosophers eighteenth-century America produced. To him, a sin against God was an infinitely heinous crime deserving infinite punishment. He therefore stoked the fires of hell and in lurid terms painted a picture of the lower regions that must have made his hearers squirm uneasily in their seats.

Christians, particularly Protestants, regarded the Bible as a guide not only to salvation but also to all human relations. Thus, they took to heart the Biblical precept "Suffer ye not a witch to live," a command which was invoked in Anglican Virginia as well as in Puritan New England. From 1647 to 1662, fourteen people were hanged as witches in Massachusetts and Connecticut alone. In 1691, witch hunting reached a climax in New England when some Salem girls accused their neighbors of bewitching them. With the Reverend Cotton Mather whipping up the emotions of the people, a wave of hysteria swept the town. By 1692, about twenty persons had been hanged and fifty-five others had "confessed" their guilt. When the accusers began to implicate Salem's "better elements," the governor and a special trial court put an end to the judicial massacre.

The Bible was likewise used to justify the prevailing social order. Scriptural texts were quoted to buttress an economy based on private property and profits. As cheap land and business opportunities opened new vistas, the bourgeois virtues of industry and thrift were sanctified. Since man was put on earth to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, idleness was frowned upon. Regarded as equally wicked was the squandering of money. A tradesman's conception of religion gained ground as these middle-class virtues were widely accepted. Judge Samuel Sewall, a staunch Puritan of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, reflected the new trend. To this businessman and lawyer, one should invest in salvation because it brought with it eternal happiness. The embodiment of the merchant ideal, Sewall carefully recorded in his *Diary* what money he had contributed to the poor so that when the day of reckoning came the Lord would not be able to make a mistake in his case.

Although Christians had common ideas in regard to the Bible, the sinfulness of man, and the origin of the universe, they were divided into two great religious groups—Catholics and Protestants. In colonial America, the Catholics were hated and despised by the Protestant majority. They were excluded from colonial colleges and, with few exceptions, were discriminated against by provincial governments. The intense anti-Catholic feeling pervading the colonial scene was further revealed in the celebration of Gunpowder Day (November 5) when the figures of the Pope and the devil were carried about, and in a children's game called "Break the Pope's Neck." The comparative nearness of French Catholics in Canada accentuated the anti-papist feeling in the colonies.

Although the Protestant denominations were united in their opposition to Catholicism, they were divided among themselves on questions of church polity, ritual, and doctrine. Presbyterians favored the selection of ministers by the elders of the church, while Congregationalists wanted them to be elected directly by the congregation. Anglicans opposed both procedures since they believed that parish priests ought to be appointed by the bishops of the church. Quakers, who incidentally were against any kind of priesthood, opposed Baptists because they did not believe the ceremony of adult baptism through immersion in water was a spontaneous manifestation of true religious feelings. Strict Calvinists repudiated Anglican ritualism on the ground that vestments, altars, and stained glass windows took the minds of men off of the contemplation of God.

Convinced of the correctness of their particular viewpoints, the various Protestant sects were ready to fight to the death for them. This was particularly true of those denominations forced to support a state-established church. The idea that it was the duty of the state to foster not only Christianity in general, but a particular form of ecclesiastical polity, was carried across the ocean from England and transplanted in nearly all the colonies. In New England, the Puritan leadership established the Congregational Church while in the southern colonies Anglicanism was given a favored position. In the Middle Colonies, where no Protestant church was in a dominant position, religious toleration prevailed. The principle of live and let live was also the order of the day in Maryland where Catholic proprietors tried to protect their co-religionists from the Protestant majority.

As the colonies grew and people of different denominations came to America, it was felt that religious toleration did not go far enough. Minority religious groups, such as the Quakers, Baptists, Mennonites, and Presbyterians, demanded not only the right to worship as they pleased but also freedom from contributing to the support of an established church. The battle for religious liberty which these dissenting sects fought was also a struggle for political democracy since full civil rights could not be obtained so long as "soul freedom" was denied to minorities.

Dissenting denominations also contributed to the growth of democracy by emphasizing the importance of man as against class. This thesis was particularly advanced by the evangelical sects which originated in Germany during the seventeenth century. Mennonites, Moravians, and Dunkers agreed in emphasizing the worth of the common man, in rejecting external authority in religion, and in believing that man could directly communicate with God. During the provincial period, these German pietistic sects made their way to America and here practiced a type of religious and agrarian communism. Quaint in manners and insignificant in numbers, Mennonites, Moravians, and Dunkers had little influence on American life and played no important part in the great evangelical movement which swept the colonies in the 1730's.

Called the Great Awakening, this revivalist tendency of the 'thirties affected the great mass of small farmers and artisans.

It transcended denominational lines and was in a sense a protest against aristocratic influences. Evangelical ministers made the people feel that God was directly interested in their personal salvation. They hammered home the point that every individual could be saved since redemption depended on good living and not on money or social position. Appealing directly to the hearts of their listeners, they urged them to participate actively in the services—hence the emotional "excesses" of wailing, shouting, and rolling on the ground. They also advanced the democratic thesis that every congregation was capable of governing itself. The Great Awakening was strongly condemned by the well educated because of its tendency to emphasize the emotions at the expense of the intellect, and by the wealthy because of the threat it carried to the existing political and social order. When James Davenport, a leading revivalist, assailed "the rich and the well-born," speedy action was taken for his arrest and imprisonment.

THE RATIONALISTIC ATTACK UPON AUTHORITY: THE ENLIGHTENMENT: While the Great Awakening was attempting to comfort the underprivileged with the thought of future bliss, the Enlightenment, which had spread from the Old World to the New, was trying to establish a new and better order on earth. Essentially a protest against authority, it repudiated all supernatural revelations and man-made guides. It advocated the use of reason in secular life on the ground that reason alone could enable man to understand the universe and the world about him. Since it identified the reasonable with the natural, it used these terms interchangeably. It likewise tied up the two with what was regarded as socially useful. An institution was according to reason and nature if it promoted the happiness of the people as a whole. Utilitarian to the core, the Enlightenment called upon the intelligent and comfortable to ease the hard lot of the poor and the ignorant.

The new philosophy was deeply rooted in the growing trend toward science and secularism that characterized the development of European civilization in early modern times. More directly it can be traced to Newton's cosmic philosophy and Locke's empirical psychology. The Newtonian representation of the universe as a vast machine set in motion by an Efficient Cause and run according to immutable natural laws provided eighteenth-century thinkers with their idea of God as a Master Mechanic and Nature as the embodiment of perfection. Like the celebrated author of the *Principia Mathematica* (1687), they set themselves the task of extending man's intellectual domain through the encouragement of scientific inquiry and the dissemination of scientific knowledge. The Enlightenment was also based on Lockean empiricism. In his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke held that ideas were the product of both experience and reflection. Rejecting the doctrine of innate ideas, he made a strong plea for reason against reliance on blind authority. His influence upon eighteenth-century philosophers was reflected in the deification of Reason.

The Enlightenment was rooted not only in the growth of science but also in the rise of the middle classes. Hard-fisted businessmen, enterprising artisans, and small landholders wanted to free themselves from the restricting influences of a religious and feudal society. They favored an end to theological bickering which brought only war and the disruption of normal business transactions. They also were anxious to do away with traditional guild regulations and state restrictions on their freedom to make money. They looked upon the natural sciences as a much more important aid to business than the revealed word and so were ready to support the philosopher in his fight against the theologian. It was no accident that seventeenth-century England, whose bourgeoisie was the most advanced in Europe, should be the home of the Enlightenment and that the implications of the new philosophy should be most fully developed in eighteenth-century France where the political and social equilibrium of the old regime was being destroyed by middle-class pressure from below.

As in England and France, so in the colonies the Enlightenment took firm hold. Unencumbered by a feudal past, America was the bourgeois country *par excellence*. The backbone of its social life was the middle class; its planters and farmers were engaged in trade just as were its merchants and artisans. Its bourgeois spirit was reflected in an emphasis upon practical things and in an unbounded faith in progress.

Besides the middle-class orientation of American life, the dissemination of scientific knowledge paved the way for the rise of the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century America. In New England the almanacs of Nathaniel Ames were used to popularize the Newtonian picture of the world machine. Colonial periodicals, like the *American Magazine*, published scientific papers. Even the pulpit took to spreading the new science. The Reverend Cotton Mather, convinced that revealed religion could only be buttressed by scientific truths, preached a sermon on the Copernican theory, much to the distress of his friend, Judge Sewall. Mather was a member of the Royal Society of London as were John Mitchell, William Byrd, John Clayton, and Benjamin Franklin. So great was the interest of Americans in science that some colonial assemblies contributed money to its advancement. In 1761, Massachusetts helped to finance the astronomical work of Professor John Winthrop of Harvard, while in 1769 Pennsylvania appropriated funds for the construction of a telescope and observatory.

Another factor favorable to the rise of the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century America was an emphasis upon the use of reason even in religion. In particular, Calvinistic and Anglican divines insisted on demonstrating the rationality of the doctrines they held. It was therefore entirely logical for them to try to harmonize their religious views with Newton's cosmography and Locke's empiricism. As in Europe, so in America there arose during the eighteenth century a Religion of Nature grounded in reason, the tenets of which were threefold: belief in the existence of God, acceptance of a future state, and the practice of virtuous living. To most provincial rationalists, natural religion could not stand alone since the reason of the average man was not capable of discovering it. Hence it had to be supplemented by the Christian revelation which clarified its precepts and added weight to its teachings.

Some eighteenth-century rationalists, called deists, rejected this compromise. Convinced that all men were capable of ascertaining the commonsense truths of the Religion of Nature, they held that it needed no supplement. Some went even further by arguing that the miracles and prophecies of Christianity were contrary to reason and so should be discarded. In short, the deists repudiated, either implicitly or explicitly, the Christian revelation. Their stand was bitterly condemned by those who feared that an attack upon Christianity might be accompanied by a revolutionary assault on the existing political and social order. This fear was expressed in an article entitled "Some Thoughts on Infidelity" which appeared in *The American Magazine* for January 1745. The writer urged that deistic principles be kept from the "rabble" who remained orderly chiefly through the force of religious teachings. He therefore asked all reasonable men to hold in contempt infidels who became the "Idols of the Mob...." Thus, the deists held their peace and during the provincial period made no serious efforts to popularize their views. So, up to 1776, deism was confined to a handful of intellectuals who lived in relatively large towns.

Like deistic speculation, the natural rights philosophy was characteristic of the Enlightenment. According to it, men originally lived in a state of nature. In the absence of a civil authority, each man had to defend his natural rights to life, liberty, property, and happiness as best he could. Since the strong were continually infringing on the weak, a voluntary compact was entered into for the purpose of creating a supreme authority. In establishing civil society, men surrendered none of their natural rights. Since these were inalienable, they could not be subverted by any government or ruler. Implicit in the social contract theory was the idea of popular sovereignty and the right of revolution.

The philosophy of natural rights was given classic expression by John Locke who used it to justify the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. In the early eighteenth century, the Reverend John Wise of Massachusetts, the son of an indentured servant, advanced it to support the Congregational form of church polity against the Presbyterian. In his *Vindication of the Government of New England Churches* (1717), he advocated a democratic church organization and held the promotion of happiness to be the chief object of good government. About the middle of the century, another liberal New Englander, the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, used the natural rights philosophy to defend the overthrow of bad kings. According to Mayhew, rulers who robbed and pillaged the people were to be regarded not as ministers of God but as emissaries of the devil. The only thing left a people plagued by such rulers was revolt. No wonder Mayhew's *Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to Higher Powers* was reprinted on the eve of the American Revolution.

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS: While the Enlightenment was making itself felt during the provincial period, subtle influences were at work creating an American self-consciousness. The rise of political problems involving the idea of unity greatly promoted the growth of intercolonial awareness. On the eve of the French and Indian War, Benjamin Franklin proposed a plan to unite the colonies politically and militarily. Although the "Albany Plan of Union" fell through, the attempt made Americans familiar with the idea that their interests transcended narrow colonial boundaries. Thus, the Albany Convention of 1754 paved the way for the Stamp Act Congress of 1765.

The frontier was another influence in developing a sense of intercolonial consciousness. Separated by mountains from the coastal region, the people of the back country had little of that pride of colony that made a Bostonian critical of a Philadelphian or a Virginian scornful of the "zealots of New England." Since communications on the frontier ran north and south rather than east and west, settlers moved down the valleys from Pennsylvania to Georgia without being at all conscious of crossing political boundaries. Moreover, in the hinterland many nationalities mingled—Germans, Scotsmen, Welshmen, and Irishmen.

The growth of a periodical press also strengthened intercolonial solidarity. News dispatches from Massachusetts to Georgia revealed common political issues; in practically every colony there was a bitter struggle against royal encroachment. In this way readers became aware of the fact that the conflict was broadly American rather than strictly provincial. The newspapers likewise helped break down colonial barriers by calling for unity at the time of the Albany Congress.

Newly organized colleges and societies also fostered the development of a colonial self-consciousness. In 1747, the College of New Jersey, now Princeton, was founded. The new institution attracted young men from the northern and southern

provinces. They were all proud to be known as patriots and Americans. In 1768, the distinguished Scotch immigrant, John Witherspoon, assumed the presidency of the college. Recognized as a "high-born" Son of Liberty, he was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1769, a group of "ingenious men residing in the several colonies," led by Franklin, founded the American Philosophical Society. The members of the new organization corresponded with one another on problems of mutual interest. Particular emphasis was placed on the study of American resources and potentialities.

More basic than these cultural influences in the growth of an American self-awareness were material forces. During the provincial period, trade among the continental colonies grew steadily. As a result, there was an improvement in methods of communication. In 1691, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania established a postal service which was extended to New Hampshire twenty years later. In 1732 Virginia entered into the general postal system of the colonies, a post office having been created in 1710 by an act of Parliament. In 1753, when Franklin of Pennsylvania and Harris of Virginia were made deputy-postmasters, it took six weeks for letters to pass between Philadelphia and Boston. The new postmasters established a weekly service between these points and cut the time in half.

Improvement in the postal service was aided by better roads. Up to 1700, roads were little more than paths marked by trees through the forests. However, by 1760, roads began to take on a more modern aspect. A main highway, in fairly good condition, ran from Boston to Charleston, while branch roads extended thirty to forty miles inland. The entire artery was described in detail in the 1732 edition of the first American guidebook. In 1724, it took Franklin two weeks to travel from Philadelphia to Boston. A generation later the trip was no faster but it was much more certain. By that time colonial travelers were going continuously from Philadelphia to Boston as well as from Philadelphia to the Pennsylvania back-country and along the Shenandoah Valley. Improved transport facilities did much to bring Americans closer together and break down existing provincial barriers.

These material, political, and cultural influences promoted the growth of an American self-consciousness. As early as 1755, Samuel Johnson, the celebrated English lexicographer, began to speak of an "American dialect," many words of which must have sounded strange to the ears of the average Englishman. Part of the new American vocabulary came from other languages—skunk, squash, and raccoon from the Indian; prairie, bureau, and chowder from the French; and waffle, boss, and cruller from the Dutch. Even more important than these borrowings were new words coined by the colonists themselves—bullfrog, chunky, snow plow, schooner, popcorn, backlog, handy, shingle—to mention only a few.

The development of an American awareness was further reflected in an increasing interest shown in the past. Thomas Prince of Boston collected New England records and on the basis of these wrote a history of that region. Similarly, William Stith published a one volume account of early Virginia. Toward the close of the provincial period, Thomas Hutchinson wrote a rather illuminating history of Massachusetts. All these works reflected colonial pride in the past.

The growth of an American self consciousness was also illustrated in visions of a bright future. Jonathan Edwards believed that God had set America aside as "the glorious renovator of the world," while John Adams looked upon the American experiment as part of a divine plan for the "emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the world." Nathaniel Ames, anticipating the nineteenth-century doctrine of "manifest destiny" had this to say about America in his *Almanack of 1758:*

> "...The Curious have observ'd, that the Progress of Humane Literature (like the Sun) is from the East to the West, Thus has it travelled thro' *Asia* and *Europe*, and now is arrived on the Eastern Shore of *America*....O! Ye unborn Inhabitants of America! ...when your Eyes behold the Sun after he has rolled the Seasons round for two or three Centuries more, you will know that in Anno Domini 1758, we dream'd of your times."[15]

Truly, this was not a people who would stand idly by and submit to British restrictions.

PART TWO

CREATING THE AMERICAN NATION

1763-1801

CHAPTER V

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE, 1763–1776

"... If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending ...—we must fight!—I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us! ... Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. ... Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace, peace, —but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! ... I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

—PATRICK HENRY, *Speech in the Virginia Convention of Delegates,* March 23, 1775

A HALF CENTURY of conflict had placed the American continent at the feet of the vigorous British bourgeoisie—on paper. But their attempts to cash in on the Treaty of Paris in the years 1763-76 were frustrated by the very consequence of the victory. The measures adopted to streamline the imperial machinery of exploitation soon revealed a profound crisis within British mercantilism, drawing to a head differences beyond compromise among commercial groups in the mother country and, even more so, between British merchants and colonial businessmen.

As the imperial program unfolded, it became increasingly clear that existing contradictions were sharpened rather than resolved. The new imperial policies hit particularly hard large sections of the American merchant and planter classes which of course fought back to protect their investments. They also opposed British interference with their freedom to invest in new fields of exploitation. Farmers, mechanics, and day laborers for reasons of their own joined in this opposition. Resolutions were drawn up, petitions circulated, nonimportation, nonexportation and nonconsumption agreements made, mass demonstrations called and pitched battles fought. Behind these activities stood, pre-eminently, the mechanics, artisans, and day laborers of the commercial towns—led by an influential revolutionary organization called the Sons of Liberty.

The artisan groups, operating as an independent political force in the interests of broader democracy, strove for an equal share in the formulation of government policies. Forming, with the farmers, the Left or bourgeois-democratic wing of the Revolution, they fought both recalcitrant British officials and timid colonial merchants. They relied on direct action, and "victory" meant to them the establishment in America of a government that would take care of the interests of the people at large. Thus, they differed from the Right or bourgeois wing of the Revolution which emphasized more restrained tactics and which desired state power to advance its own special interests.

Yet, despite these differences, both camps of the Revolution had one thing in common—resistance to British repressive measures. Accordingly, as the revolutionary movement deepened, disagreements were submerged and a broad national front formed to overthrow "inveterate Enemies" at home and abroad. Extra-legal bodies were organized and contacts made with European radicals. Guided thus by competent revolutionary leadership, the separate thirteen colonies drew closer together and in 1776 issued a Declaration of Independence. The American nation was born.

BRITAIN AND THE COLONIES

IMPERIAL DECENTRALIZATION: The French and Indian War had brought into sharp focus the essential weakness of the British imperial system—administrative decentralization. Nowhere was this defect more glaringly illustrated than in the British attempt during the war to stop the colonies from trading with the French.

Immediately following the outbreak of the last Anglo-French struggle, the British government forbade all direct trade with the enemy. But this prohibition did not apply to traffic with the French through neutral ports. Colonial merchants, taking advantage of this loophole, shipped provisions to the French islands of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Santo Domingo via Spanish and Dutch West Indian ports. In this way French naval and military forces in Caribbean waters were supplied with indispensable material much to the dissatisfaction of the British government.

Britain adopted two measures to put an end to this traffic. One was a rule promulgated by an English admiralty court in 1756 to the effect that no neutral power could engage in trade opened to it under the pressure of war. Under this Rule of 1756, the British seized Spanish and Dutch ships carrying colonial "contraband" to the French West Indies. The second measure was a Parliamentary statute passed in 1757 which forbade the colonies to trade outside of the British empire.

Colonial merchants used ingenious devices to circumvent the anti-French decrees. Some of them applied to provincial governors for "flags of truce," passes which permitted them to go directly to the French West Indies, where they sold their products rather than exchange prisoners of war. Others obtained clearance papers for British ports and, instead of proceeding directly to their destination, would first stop to trade with the French colonies. After picking up their cargo, they would make for British ports where fraudulent papers were purchased in order to establish the legality of the voyage. Still other American merchants proceeded directly to the Spanish port of Monte Cristi on the northern shore of Haiti and close to French Santo Domingo. Here they would meet French planters who used an overland route to reach the small Spanish town.

In trying to stop the "illicit" colonial-French West Indian trade, the British navy seized ships abusing flags of truce and clearance orders. Furthermore, "writs of assistance" were used to permit British customs officials to enter houses and board ships in search of smuggled goods. These writs, employed in the colonies for the first time, evoked a storm of criticism. In 1760 a group of Masachusetts merchants hired James Otis, an attorney, to test the legality of the warrants. In a powerful argument before the superior court, Otis declared that the use of such warrants was illegal because it ran counter to one of the most basic rights of Englishmen—freedom from arbitrary seizures and searches. Although the case was decided against him, Otis aroused public opinion and virtually began the great debate of the revolutionary era by denying that Parliament had unlimited authority over the colonies.

The methods used by England to finance the French and Indian War had also created antagonism between the colonies and the mother country. When the conflict began in 1754, there was general agreement in British government circles that America should bear its share of the expenses involved in defending the empire. The only question in dispute was how best to raise the necessary funds. Two alternatives were suggested—direct Parliamentary taxation or the requisition system. Fearing that the first of these choices would lead to colonial discontent, the English government decided to resort to the second, a plan whereby the colonies would pay and clothe the troops they raised, while Britain would supply them with equipment and arms. To encourage the provinces to fulfill their quotas, the mother country promised monetary compensation. During the war, two-fifths of the cost involved in the maintenance of the colonial military establishment was borne by England.

Although the requisition system seemed more than fair from the British standpoint, it did not meet with colonial approval. Some provinces, like New Hampshire, Georgia, and North Carolina, felt that they were too poor to contribute the share assigned. Others, like Rhode Island, Delaware, and New Jersey, having no claim to western lands, did not want to spend money for frontier defenses. Every colony waited to see what the other would do. No wonder Lord Loudoun, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, made the following caustic comment: "... [It] is the constant study of every Province here, to throw every Expense on the Crown, and bear no part of the Expense of this War themselves."[1] Only in New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut did the requisition system meet with a fair degree of success, these three contributing seventy per cent of all troops raised in America.

Many colonies, unwilling to tax themselves to meet the costs of the war, resorted to the easiest way out—the printing of paper money. In 1755 Virginia began the issue of legal tender notes, which soon depreciated in value; by 1762 it took £165 in Virginia money to buy £100 sterling. British creditors, forseeing heavy losses if such currency were used to repay them objected sharply. Their government, however, was forced to acquiesce in the action taken because the Virginia legislature made it clear that it would grant money for the war only on those terms.

As Virginia's paper money depreciated in value, the price of tobacco rose. In 1755 and 1758 the Virginia assembly passed laws permitting the payment of taxes, fees, and debts in money at the rate of twopence for every pound of tobacco that was due. These measures were actively opposed by the clergy of the Anglican Establishment, whose salaries were paid in tobacco. They complained that now that the price of tobacco was high they should be paid at the old rate as a compensation for the losses they had sustained when the price of tobacco was low. The Virginia parsons were backed by British merchants and in 1760 the "two-penny" law was declared null and void by the Privy Council.

This decision permitted the Anglican clergy in the Old Dominion to sue for the balance due them under the former law. Several suits were started, the most famous of them bringing Patrick Henry, a bitter opponent of tyranny, into the public eye. The young attorney, realizing that the law was on the side of the clergymen, turned the trial into an attack on the right of the Crown to declare colonial laws null and void. Henry argued that such actions were arbitrary and urged the colonists to defend their liberties. The jury decided to award the clergymen one penny in damages—a clear defiance of the right of the Privy Council to interfere in the affairs of Virginia.

PROBLEM OF REORGANIZING THE EMPIRE: The critical situation within the empire, brought to the fore by the Seven Years' War, raised sharply the question of imperial reorganization. This question assumed added importance at the close of the war because of the serious financial crisis facing Great Britain. The world-wide struggle with France had been so costly that by 1763 the national debt had risen to an enormous total somewhere between 130 and 140 million pounds. The interest alone amounted to about £4,500,000 annually. In addition, it was estimated that another £350,000 a year would be needed to protect England's newly won possessions in America.

Although fully aware of the seriousness of the situation, British political leaders decided for two reasons not to impose new taxes upon Englishmen at home. First, England was passing through a deep economic depression occasioned largely by the collapse of an over-expanded war market. Hard-pressed merchants, landlords, and farmers were in no mood to submit to higher taxes. Secondly, the country was already staggering under oppressive burdens, impositions on land alone amounting to four shillings in the pound.

Having decided not to increase taxes at home, British politicians had but one alternative—to extract the necessary funds from Englishmen in America. Such a step was justified on the ground that Britain's existing fiscal plight was the outcome of a war that had been fought to free the colonies from the menace of France. Accordingly, they argued, it was only fair to ask Americans to contribute their share of the war debt and also pay part of the expenses involved in defending colonial frontiers from possible French and Indian reprisals.

One way to raise revenue in America was to enforce the existing trade laws, a step which necessitated the overhauling of the British administrative system. Progress in this direction was made after 1763 as customs officials were ordered to America, governors were instructed to break up illegal trade, and vice-admiralty courts were reorganized along more efficient lines.

Such steps were also taken to protect the best interests of the British merchants who played an influential part in the shaping of colonial policy. These merchants were anxious to keep America contented under British rule—if only to collect debts cheaply and sell large quantities of their goods. Thus, they looked askance at the Stamp Act and worked for its repeal, especially after the colonists drew up agreements not to import English goods. Yet, despite similar economic pressure after the passage of the Townshend Acts, British merchants waited fully two years before starting an active campaign for their repeal.

This decision may be traced to the fact that by 1770 there was a definite split within the mercantile ranks. One group, engaged almost solely in the American trade, advocated a conciliatory policy on the ground that if the colonial market was lost, British trade would be ruined. The other faction, looking to Europe, opposed the idea of conciliation and held that the continental market was much more important to English commerce than the American. The conviction that English radicals were using the colonial crisis to advance the cause of democracy at home also made this faction support the government program of retaliation. As the revolutionary crisis in America matured, the anti-conciliationists gained the upper hand. On the eve of the American Revolution, Edmund Burke, outstanding advocate of compromise, sadly observed that the "merchants are gone from us. . . . They all, or the greatest number of them, begin to sniff the cadaverous *haut goût* [high flavor] of lucrative war." [2]

Throughout the critical years which led to Lexington and Concord, British merchants, whatever their views as to how the government should deal with America, were united in championing the right of Parliament to control the colonies. This was due to the fact that each operation under mercantilism rested upon a Parliamentary act. Least of all did they care to oppose Parliament on the issue uppermost in the minds of American businessmen. What the latter regarded as burdens on their trans-Atlantic trade provided a highly prized income for the strong boxes of British merchants who reaped a rich harvest from increased transportation costs, reshipments, and middleman's profits. The size of the tribute exacted is indicated in a recent study which says that "after all proper allowances have been made for bounties and other preferences, the net burden imposed upon the Thirteen Colonies by the restraints upon the trans-Atlantic trade was between two million and seven million dollars a year. . . . [The] annual per capita burden represented by the lower estimate would come close to meeting all the expenses of operating the national government during Washington's administration, and an annual per capita tax based on the higher estimate would, in addition to paying the current expenses of the government, have raised in twelve years (from 1789-1801) a sum sufficient to pay both the domestic and foreign debt incurred by the United States government during the Revolutionary War."[3]

This tribute extorted annually from the trans-Atlantic trade of the colonies made British merchants keenly aware of the debt they owed Parliament. Under the circumstances, they were wholly in favor of keeping the colonies subordinate to Parliamentary authority. As the competition of colonial capital grew more intense after the Treaty of Paris, they could see no advantage in keeping overseas possessions unless they were subject to control.

If Parliamentary policy became more repressive after 1763 than before—though fundamentally the same—the major purpose was not served. Far from curing the mortal sickness of British mercantilism the action taken had precisely the opposite effect: involving additional tax burdens, loss of trading profits and limitations on self government, the new imperial program antagonized every section of the American population. Colonial merchants, who had become wealthy whether through smuggling or legitimate trade, opposed the new policy because it interfered with their customary commercial operations. As a class, however, they hesitated for two reasons to withdraw from the empire. They feared the loss of much needed business in an unprotected British market and they doubted their ability to curb the republican inclinations and leveling sentiments of the masses. From 1764 to 1774, indeed, they constantly aimed to stay within the empire and possibly restore conditions as of 1763, but many of them were forced by the logic of events to align themselves with the revolutionary party.

Like the seaboard merchants, the Tidewater planters were hostile to the new imperial program. Because they were heavily in debt to British businessmen, they saw little hope for prosperity short of virtual repudiation. Some of the more enterprising tried to supplement their rapidly shrinking tobacco incomes by speculating in western lands, but this avenue was temporarily closed to them by the Proclamation of 1763* and permanently by the Quebec Act of 1774. Thus, by 1775, a large section of the wealthy planting classes had gone over to the side of the Revolution.

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*For a discussion of the Proclamation of 1763, see pages 162-63.

Colonial farmers also opposed Britain's new imperial policy. As debtors, they viewed with alarm the Currency Act of 1764, and as producers, they became apprehensive over British efforts to curb land distribution in the trans-Allegheny West and to restrict the use of ungranted lands in a number of seaboard colonies. Farmers in the interior were especially hostile. Opposed to the undemocratic practices in taxation, representation, and local government within their respective colonies, these frontiersmen were no more favorable to measures originating with a government three thousand miles away. Democratic to the core and frequently non-English in origin, the back-country yeomanry gave impetus to the movement for independence.

Colonial mechanics and wage earners were likewise antagonized by the new imperial program. The Currency Act of 1764 hit the debtor element within their ranks, while Crown regulations restricting the disposal of ungranted lands dashed the hope of would-be farmers. Meanwhile, stricter enforcement of the acts of trade cut employment and lowered wages among those engaged in the illegal West India traffic. Ideological reasons carried weight too. Like the back-country farmers, the artisans and workers were firm believers in democracy. Fighting for an equal share in the formulation of policies within America and a better standard of living, they were unfriendly to taxation imposed by a Parliament sitting in far-off London. Quite logically, therefore, the artisans participated from the very beginning in the movement to free the colonies from British domination.

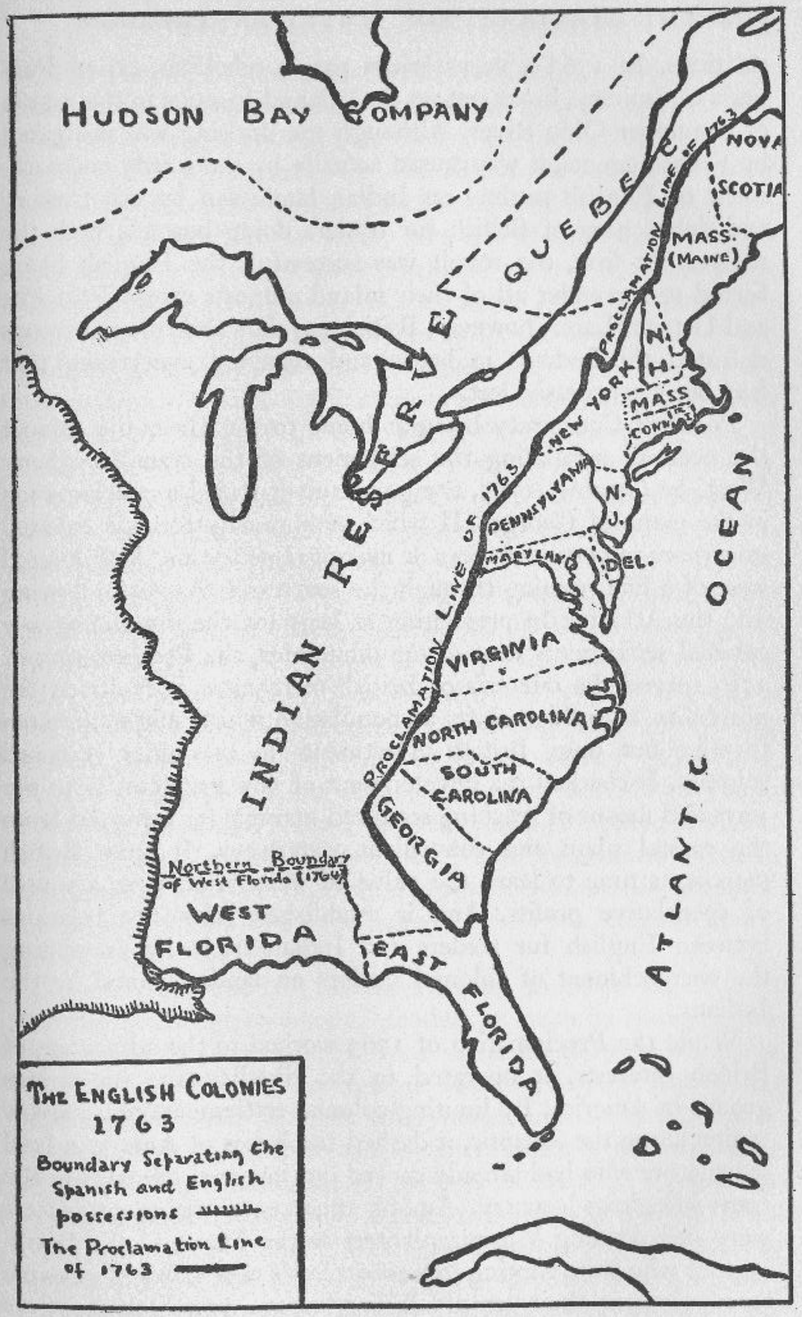
In addition to basic material forces, there were, as indicated above, a number of others which caused the colonists to oppose the British ruling classes. For over a hundred years the English settlers in America had built up, sometimes at great personal sacrifice, the principle of self government. Through their local assemblies they had fought proprietary agents and royal officials and by 1763 had generally won the right to conduct their own affairs. Particularly did they enjoy the right to tax themselves. So, when a Parliament three thousand miles away attempted to raise money without their consent, they made ready to fight to the bitter end. They rallied to the cry, "Taxation without Representation is Tyranny," and supported their contention with an appeal to traditional English as well as natural rights. They took a firm stand against unreasonable seizures and searches and the quartering of troops upon civilians. Although some of the colonists were content to fight for the maintenance of the rights they already enjoyed, others wanted much more in the way of self-government. Working farmers, tradesmen, artisans, and day laborers demanded a greater voice in the shaping of policies inside America. They wanted taxes distributed more equitably and the franchise extended. They saw in the fight against the mother country the same long struggle they had carried on against ruling minorities in their own midst.

A developing sense of national consciousness also contributed to bring about the Revolution. Newspapers, coastwise trade, social clubs, and common revolutionary action made the colonists think of themselves more and more as Americans. Indicative of the new spirit were the remarks made in 1765 by Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina, a member of the Stamp Act Congress: “. . . There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorker, &c., known on the Continent, but all of us Americans. . . .”[4] About nine years later Patrick Henry gave point to this statement by declaring “I am not a Virginian, but an American.”[5] Although most colonials were not prepared to go so far as Henry in 1774, even the idea that they were Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, Georgians, and Carolinians showed a certain love of country which would make them ready to fight Great Britain.

THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE

THE GRENVILLE PROGRAM: The broad outlines of the new imperial policy were laid down by George Grenville who headed the British ministry in the critical years immediately following the Treaty of Paris of 1763. The new minister, who was interested in reorganizing the British empire and restoring the trade of English merchants, sponsored a series of laws so anti-American that they immediately fanned the smoldering embers of colonial revolt.

When the Grenville ministry turned to the American question, one of the first problems it had to face was that of Indian


HUDSON BAY COMPANY
QUEBEC
NOVA SCOTIA
MASS. (MAINE)
N. H.
NEW YORK
MASS
CONN
R.I.
N. J.
PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
DEL.
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
PROCLAMATION LINE OF 1763
INDIAN RESERVE
Northern Boundary of West Florida (1764)
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
The English Colonies
1763
Boundary Separating the Spanish and English possessions
The Proclamation Line of 1763

relations. In 1763 a very serious native rebellion, called Pontiac's Conspiracy, broke out on the colonial frontier in the region of the upper Ohio River. Although the uprising was instigated by French agents, it was caused actually by the steady encroachment of English settlers on Indian lands and by the trickery and debauchery of British fur traders doing business with the natives. At first, the revolt was successful, the English being forced to surrender all of their inland outposts except Fort Pitt and Detroit. Later, however, British regulars and colonial troops defeated the Indians in battle and regained everything that had been previously lost.

Pontiac's Conspiracy brought home to the Grenville cabinet the need of regulating the settlement of the trans-Allegheny West. In October, 1763, the government issued a proclamation in the name of George III which temporarily forbade colonial governors to permit surveys or make grants for any land located west of a line running through the sources of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic. In preventing at least for the time being any colonial settlements west of the mountains, the Proclamation of 1763 served the interests of British merchants. It removed the possibility of sudden shifts of population which might threaten to wipe out huge British investments in the older seaboard colonies. It checked the development of new problems as to the ways and means of reaching scattered markets far removed from the coastal plain and convenient waterways. It gave British merchants time to learn the value of western lands as a source of speculative profits. And it established friendlier relations between English fur traders and Indian tribes by preventing the encroachment of colonial settlers on lands claimed by the Indians.

While the Proclamation of 1763 worked to the advantage of British interests, it operated to the disadvantage of various groups in America. By limiting colonial settlements to a narrow region along the Atlantic, it dashed the hopes of American land speculators who had already carved out imperial domains in the trans-Allegheny country. Among these enterprising promoters were such leading Virginia planters as the Lees and the Washingtons who were turning to western lands as a source of revenue to supplement their rapidly falling income from tobacco. Nor

was interest in transmontane land speculation limited to Virginia planters. Important merchants like Samuel and Thomas Wharton of Pennsylvania were stung by the speculative bug; a group of New Yorkers also established the Loyal Company for the purpose of obtaining 300,000 acres of land in the trans-Allegheny West. This company was one of several speculative corporations whose proposed holdings beyond the mountains ranged from 200,000 to 1,200,000 acres. Not only land promoters, but also small landholders and would-be farmers were adversely affected by the Proclamation of 1763. By closing the transmontane West to settlement, the Proclamation blasted the prospects of marginal farmers along the coastal plain and of artisans anxious to start life anew on the frontier. Particularly hard hit were rank and file Virginians who had volunteered for service during the French and Indian War and had been given land bounties in the Ohio country.

The problem of the West touched upon two other questions—taxation and the regulation of trade. The Indian uprising of 1763 had shown the Grenville ministry the desirability of providing for the defense of Britain's newly gained empire in America. The British government, realizing that it could not depend upon the colonies to handle the matter themselves, decided to station 10,000 regular troops in the New World. It was estimated that about £350,000 would be needed annually to support such an army. Contending that the colonies ought to contribute at least one-third of this amount, Grenville proposed the passage of two laws—the Sugar Act of 1764, and the Stamp Act of 1765.

The first of these two measures served notice on the colonies that the British government intended to make its trade regulations effective. It provided for an increased duty on all white sugar imported from the foreign West Indies, prohibited the importation of rum from the same source, and lowered the duty on foreign molasses from six to three pence a gallon. These imposts were intended not only to prevent tax rates from rising in England, but also to advance the interests of British West Indian merchants and planters. The English government was keenly aware of the fact that by boosting the colonial price of foreign Caribbean products, the act would bring British sugar planters higher prices for their commodities. Actually what the Grenville ministry was doing was to extend protection to British investors in the West Indies, while disregarding completely the welfare of colonial merchants engaged in the foreign sugar trade. Similarly, the Sugar Act of 1764 sacrificed the interests of colonial merchants active in the wine traffic. Prior to 1764, the colonies imported great quantities of wine from Madeira, the Canaries, and the Azores. The Sugar Act placed a duty of £7 a ton on all such imports and only 10 shillings a ton on all wine coming into the colonies from Britain. In this way the British government hoped to further the interests of English merchants by making Americans drink port instead of Madeira.

New England businessmen were especially hard hit by the Sugar Act. The sugar duty was relatively unimportant since no great quantities were imported but the tax of three pence per gallon on molasses was a different matter. Millions of gallons were brought from the foreign West Indies into the colonies and chiefly to New England. Once there the molasses was used to manufacture rum, a product which was exchanged for slaves from Africa. The latter were then carried across the Atlantic to the West Indies where they were sold for the specie and bills of credit which were used to buy English manufactured goods. Thus, the Sugar Act not only reduced New England's supply of specie, but also adversely affected the manufacturing interests of the mother country. As if realizing this, the Grenville ministry incorporated into the Sugar Act provisions beneficial to British industrialists. The law extended the list of articles which had to be shipped first to England to include hides, skins, and raw silk, all of which were needed by English manufacturers. It also imposed new duties on foreign linens, oriental silks, and French lawns, products which Americans might buy in preference to British-made goods.

To raise the rest of the money needed to support a military establishment in the colonies, Grenville obtained the passage of the Stamp Act in March, 1765, requiring everyone in America to pay stamp duties on periodicals, pamphlets, and legal and commercial documents. The act was bitterly opposed by colonial merchants, lawyers, and publishers on the ground that, unlike the Sugar Act, it was an internal, not an external, imposition and as such opened the way to unrestricted Parliamentary taxation. They argued that it would then be only a matter of time before money so raised would be used to pay the salaries of governors and thus free them from dependency upon colonial legislatures. They also pointed out that since the duty was to be collected in America and then sent to England, additional specie would be drained off and colonial business hurt.

One month after the passage of the Stamp Act, Grenville induced Parliament to adopt the Quartering Act. This statute, like its predecessors, aimed to make the provinces share in the burden of supporting the British military establishment in America. It required the colonies to quarter British troops in barracks and taverns and, if these were not available, to billet the men in houses, barns, and other buildings belonging to citizens. The Quartering Act was most sharply criticized in New York, a stopping-off place in the shipment of troops westward. Here colonial leaders were quick to point out that British soldiers stationed in America at the expense of the people might be used against them rather than against the Indians.

A fourth measure, adopted by Parliament in 1764, attempted to protect British investments in America by forbidding the issuance of paper money and by ordering all bills emitted during the French and Indian War to be withdrawn. The Currency Act of 1764 added to the woes of debt-ridden planters, farmers and artisans. Besides, it hurt colonial business by contracting the currency. This made less money available for exchange and the financing of credit. John Dickinson summarized the devastating effects of the act when he wrote in 1765: "... Trade is decaying; and all credit is expiring. Money is becoming so extremely scarce, that reputable freeholders find it impossible to pay debts, which are trifling in comparison to their estates.... [The] consumers break the shop-keepers; they break the merchants; and the shock must be felt as far as *London*...."[6]

COLONIAL RESISTANCE: Since the Grenville program affected every section of the colonial population and came at a time of post-war deflation and economic stress, it reaped the whirlwind. Colonial merchants, planters, farmers, mechanics, and workingmen moved into action as resolutions were drawn up, leaflets distributed, petitions circulated, demonstrations organized, and nonimportation agreements made. Practically all of the agitation centered around the Stamp Act, which affected every class in America.

Local assemblies were the first to swing into action. In May, 1765, only two months after the passage of the Stamp Act, the Virginia legislature adopted a series of resolutions to the effect that no taxes could be levied upon the colonists except by representatives of their own choosing. The Pennsylvania assembly went even further when it asserted that the government of the province was and should be perfectly free. To crystallize such official discontent and mobilize it into action, the Massachusetts House of Representatives sent a circular letter inviting all provinces to send delegates to a congress in New York to consider "the difficulties to which they are . . . reduced by the operation of the acts of Parliament for levying duties and taxes in the colonies." Nine provinces responded to the invitation and on October 7, 1765, the sessions of the Stamp Act Congress began. The twenty-nine representatives, assembled in New York City, adopted a declaration of rights and grievances. Petitioning the Crown and Parliament for a repeal of the Stamp Act, the Congress maintained that the only bodies qualified to tax the colonies were their own elected assemblies. The petition also asked for the annulment of "other late acts for the restriction of American commerce" after carefully pointing out that the duties contained in the Sugar Act were "extremely burthensome and grievous; and from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable."[7]

Opposition to the Stamp Act also took the form of nonimportation agreements signed by colonial merchants. In fact, the merchants, directly affected by British repressive measures, were as a class among the first to organize. As early as 1763, some of them in the larger commercial towns began to work more closely together in an effort to improve their business relations and to oppose more effectively unfavorable British legislation. In April, 1763, the merchants of Boston formed what would today be called a chamber of commerce. They proposed the establishment of similar bodies in other colonies, the creation of committees of correspondence and the presentation of united protests against discriminatory trade acts. Boston's lead was followed by other towns in Massachusetts as well as by New York City. In 1764 merchant organizations throughout Massachusetts protested against the Sugar Act. Yet, despite these early organizational attempts, relatively few American merchants were bound together into permanent bodies. Thus, when the Stamp Act was passed, they depended upon hastily formed committees to co-ordinate their activities and carry out their nonimportation agreements. In spite of the haste with which these committees were established they functioned so efficiently that by the end of 1765 about £700,000 worth of American orders was lost to British businessmen.

Like the merchants, the mechanics and workingmen of the larger towns had their own program and organizations of agitation. These artisan groups aimed to establish a government in America free of Parliamentary domination and responsive to the will of the people. What they were actually trying to do was to secure the transfer of power from an aristocratic minority to a democratic majority. Craftsmen and workingmen made up the bulk of the membership of the Sons of Liberty, an organization formed in the latter part of 1765 to mobilize the people against the Stamp Act. Although this agency of revolutionary agitation drew its strength mainly from artisan circles, its leadership was recruited from mercantile and professional groups. In Boston the Sons of Liberty was headed by Samual Adams, an erstwhile brewer, William Molineaux, a merchant, Joseph Warren and Thomas Young, doctors; in New York, Isaac Sears and John Lamb, merchants; and in Charleston, Christopher Gadsden, a planter-merchant and William Johnson, a mechanic. These leaders were men of the people, accustomed to rub shoulders with craftsmen and workers whose needs they understood and whose aspirations they tried to fulfill.

Apparently the Sons of Liberty appeared first in eastern Connecticut, and then spread rapidly to Massachusetts and New York. Within a short time, similar bodies could be found throughout the thirteen colonies. Although the New York Liberty Boys attempted to bring the associated societies together into a well-knit unit, nothing came of the effort. Consequently, the organization continued to operate as a loosely formed association whose main connecting links were the local committees of correspondence. These bodies, which European revolutionaries were later to imitate, kept the associated organizations informed of what was happening in other colonies. Similarly, the various societies were tied together by the use of special messengers. Paul Revere, a leader of the Boston mechanics, was frequently employed for this purpose. In a like manner, agents were sent from one colony to another to establish necessary contacts. On one occasion, the New York organization sent representatives to New London, Norwich, and other places with a proposal to form a continental union, a request which the Bostonians viewed with approval.

This proposal arose out of a desire to co-ordinate the activities of the military establishments connected with the Sons of Liberty. In the early part of 1766 the Connecticut association was reported having ten thousand men under arms and Massachusetts and New Hampshire forty thousand. Although no contemporary estimates have been found as to the number of men the New York society could muster at the time, it undoubtedly possessed an armed force, as evidenced by its readiness to fight the landing of British troops in March, 1766.

The Sons of Liberty, predominantly artisan and working class, was not satisfied merely with such forms of passive resistance as nonimportation agreements and petitions. It advocated direct action and organized monster demonstrations against the Stamp Act. The Boston Liberty Boys led the way on August 14, 1765, a day on which as Sam Adams remarked, the "People shouted, and their shout was heard to the distant end of this Continent. . . ."[8] The small folk of Boston paraded through the town and, under the leadership of the shoemaker Mackintosh, broke into the home of Andrew Oliver, Stamp Collector, doing—according to one colonial commentator—"some Damage but inconsiderable, in Comparison to what might have been expected."[9] After such tangible evidence of what the people thought, Oliver resigned his post the next day. Stamp tax-collectors throughout the country followed suit after similar demonstrations on the part of local Liberty Boys.

In some colonies artisan elements organized in the Sons of Liberty attempted to forge an alliance with radical farmers. Realizing the importance of such a step, the Liberty Boys in Boston cultivated the acquaintance of hinterland politicians. They also used the columns of Boston newspapers to familiarize rural radicals with what was happening in the capital. As a result of these activities, they were able to secure the passage of anti-Stamp Act resolutions in town after town throughout the colony. The ability of city artisans to influence hinterland politics was further revealed by the way in which rural Liberty Boys mobbed Tory sympathizers, closed regular courts, and erected Liberty Trees.

Unlike the Sons of Liberty in Massachusetts, the organization in New York did nothing to form a united front with the farmers in the countryside who had many reasons for dissatisfaction. In the early part of 1766, an anti-rent movement engulfed upper Westchester County. Under the impact of the Stamp Act agitation, the tenants united and not only refused to pay rent, but also seized land. When some of their leaders were arrested and brought to New York, armed farmers marched on the city to rescue them. Unfortunately, they received no support from the Liberty Boys and as a result they were dispersed by troops before accomplishing their purpose. Meanwhile, the anti-rent movement spread to Dutchess County, where under the leadership of William Prendergast, small farmers did not hesitate to use direct action. By the middle of 1766, there were seventeen hundred anti-renters under arms at Poughkeepsie and three hundred more at Pawling. Within a short time, however, Prendergast and seven other leaders were captured and the insurrection was crushed. In the trial that followed the testimony showed Prendergast's sympathy for the Sons of Liberty, but, despite this, New York Liberty Boys did nothing to help him. In fact, one of their number, John Morin Scott, voted with other judges to condemn Prendergast to death. Only a royal pardon saved him.

Associated with the Sons of Liberty during the agitation over the Stamp Act was a kindred organization of patriotic women called the Daughters of Liberty. This body passed spirited resolutions condemning Parliamentary interference and commending the work of the Liberty Boys. On one occasion, the Boston Sons of Liberty passed a resolution thanking their female associates in Providence, Rhode Island, for the firm stand they had taken in defense of American rights.

REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT: Opposition to the Stamp Act developed in Britain as well as in America. By the beginning of 1766 British merchants were seriously questioning the wisdom of continuing the Stamp Tax. And well they might, for by that time the full effects of colonial nonimportation were evident. Anglo-American trade was at a standstill. To make matters worse, southern planters were stopping payments on old debts. Threatened by ruin, mercantile interests in London and Bristol loudly demanded the repeal of the Stamp Act. A flood of petitions descended on Parliament as merchants sent delegation after delegation urging that something be done immediately. Joined by British manufacturers they eventually won the day: the obnoxious measure was repealed in March, 1766. As a concession to the industrial interests doing business with New England merchants Parliament lowered the duty on foreign molasses coming into America from three pence to one penny a gallon.

The repeal of the Stamp Act was also the work of British radicals who felt a common bond of unity with "friends of freedom" in America. The colonial cry, "Taxation without Representation is Tyranny," struck a responsive chord among those Englishmen who knew that a body elected by only one-sixth of the population, as Parliament was at the time, could not possibly be said to represent the British people. Such limited voting combined with the undue influence exercised by the Crown in legislative matters made absurd the idea that Parliament was really representative of the British nation.

These conditions made Englishmen and Americans feel they were fighting a common foe. As John Wilkes, one of the acknowledged leaders of the small folk of England, put it, "I consider it as my duty no less strenuously to defend the rights of America than of England, and I feel an equal indignation against the oppressors of our fellow-subjects, whether at home, or on the other side of the Atlantic." [10] In line with these sentiments, British radicals fought for the repeal of the Stamp Act and rejoiced when that repressive measure was revoked.

Irish radicals also welcomed the news that the Stamp Act had been repealed. Charles Lucas, who edited an Irish newspaper, the *Freeman's Journal,* and who corresponded with the Sons of Liberty in Boston, stressed the common plight of America and Ireland. Like their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, Irishmen had their own Hearts of Oak Boys and Hearts of Steel Boys and so were not afraid to hint that a combined American and Irish civil war might prove too much for England to handle.

At home, too, American "friends of freedom" greeted the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act with unrestrained joy. Demonstrations, illuminations, fireworks, and the ringing of bells accompanied the glad tidings. In one Massachusetts town the effigies of Grenville and Bute, a former prime minister, were burned to the accompaniment of a speech delivered by John Russell, who put into blunt form what the common people were thinking at the time. Addressing himself to the effigies burning before him, this plain man said, "The gallows was what ye deserved, and there ye are now hanging before us, ye are. . . . Your own kith don't like a traitor, they don't I know." [11]

Although the colonies scored a notable success when the Stamp Act was repealed, their triumph was incomplete. Parliament, at the behest of the Rockingham Ministry now in power, passed a Declaratory Act which asserted its right to make whatever laws it pleased with respect to the colonies. Implicit in the declaration was the idea that Parliament could tax the provinces to the hilt and, if it wished, strangle American trade and suppress American industry.

THE TOWNSHEND PROGRAM AND AFTER: In passing the Declaratory Act of 1766, the British ruling classes—landlords and merchants—showed that they were still determined to rule the colonies. So, after a relatively brief period of peace, they returned to the attack. In 1767, under the leadership of Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, they made another desperate attempt at imperial reorganization. Townshend, taking his cue from Grenville, proposed a series of acts designed to support the British military and civilian establishment in America. To raise additional money, a Revenue Act was passed placing import duties on tea, glass, and painters' colors. In order to make sure that the new duties were collected, the act authorized the use of "writs of assistance," created an American Board of Customs Commissioners, and reorganized the vice-admiralty courts. To punish the New York legislature for refusing to contribute to the support of the British army under the Quartering Act, one of the Townshend laws provided for the suspension of that assembly's right to pass legislation until it fulfilled its obligations. This measure constituted a direct threat to the principle of colonial self government.

Like the Stamp Act of 1765, the Townshend laws of 1767 evoked a storm of protest. As then, so now, official bodies such as the provincial assemblies entered the arena and took up the battle. In 1768, the Massachusetts House of Representatives, which was fully aware of the danger to self government contained in the Townshend Acts, addressed a circular letter to the other colonies calling upon them to join in common resistance. One year later, the Virginia assembly passed resolutions introduced by Washington which in substance denied the right of Parliament to tax America.

This resistance to the Townshend Acts was supplemented by extra-legal nonimportation agreements. Merchants in the larger commercial towns came together and pledged themselves not to import British goods. Planters joined the movement when the recently dissolved Virginia House of Burgesses, meeting privately in 1769, agreed not to purchase dutied articles, British luxury goods, or Negro slaves. Planters in other southern colonies followed the lead of the Virginians, many of them using the nonimportation agreements as a means of keeping them from falling more deeply into debt.

In the meantime, a movement was begun to free America from the leading strings of British mercantilism. Associations were formed to encourage the development of colonial manufacturing. Patriotic Americans were urged to boycott British merchandise and purchase only colonial-made goods. The Daughters of Liberty reappeared and enthusiastically devoted themselves to spinning and weaving. In addition, they passed resolutions pledging women not to patronize merchants who broke the nonimportation agreements. In Boston, William Molineaux, a leading member of the Sons of Liberty, organized spinning bees. At the same time in other towns manufactories were established

where employment was given the indigent. Under the impetus of such activities, American-made clothing became the fashion of the day, a badge of patriotism to the Whigs and an object of derision to the Tories.

Behind the nonimportation agreements stood colonial mechanics, artisans, and workingmen organized again into the Sons of Liberty. This body, which had practically gone out of existence after the repeal of the Stamp Act, came to life under the impact of the Townshend measures. As in 1765 and 1766, so now the Sons of Liberty resorted to direct action as the best way to crystallize sentiment against the repressive laws. Street demonstrations were organized, customs officials hounded, and British informers tarred and feathered. In Boston, royal customs commissioners were attacked by the people and forced to flee to Castle William for safety. From this vantage point these minions of the Crown frantically begged the British government for military protection and in 1768 two regiments of British regulars were sent to Boston. Two years later, these troops fired into a crowd and killed five workingmen among whom was Crispus Attucks, a fugitive Negro slave. For many years thereafter the memory of these five victims of the Boston Massacre was kept alive by commemorative exercises at which leading Liberty Boys delivered orations and collections were taken up for surviving sufferers.

The disturbances which took place in Boston were duplicated in other commercial centers, much to the consternation of colonial merchants. As men of means, they feared popular outbursts, not knowing when they themselves might be the hated enemy. Besides, as members of the colonial ruling clique, they dreaded the increased participation of the people in politics. Thus, when the British government announced in 1770 its willingness to repeal all the Townshend measures except that on tea, many American merchants decided to scuttle the nonimportation agreement. To accomplish this they formed organizations of their own in New York and Charleston called "The Friends of Trade and Liberty" and sought to combat what they termed "the unbridled Spirit of Mob Violence." Colonial mechanics and workingmen immediately took up the challenge by redoubling their efforts to enforce the nonimportation stipulations. Eventually, however, the artisans were driven back by the victorious merchants. Taking their defeat seriously and drawing from it the necessary conclusions, craftsmen and day laborers decided to organize their own political parties. Actually, such parties appeared in New York and Philadelphia after 1770.

While colonial merchants and artisans were fighting over the issue of nonimportation, the Townshend Acts were being partially repealed. This action was taken by Lord North who came to power in the early part of 1770. Since the new Prime Minister was convinced that it was the height of folly for Britain to tax her own goods abroad, he induced Parliament to revoke all of the Townshend duties except the three pence tax on tea. Although British merchants approved this step, their reaction to news of the repeal was not so enthusiastic as it had been at the time of the Stamp Act. The reason for this was simple. British merchants were relatively better off in 1770 than in 1766. Expanding European markets and good harvests in England made for prosperity. Furthermore, large quantities of English merchandise slipped into America because of the widespread sabotage of the nonimportation agreements by colonial traders. So British merchants were more apathetic to the question of repeal; in fact, it took them fully two years after the passage of the Townshend Acts to bestir themselves. Even then their demands were pushed in a half-hearted fashion. Many British merchants were now convinced that England's future commercial greatness depended more on the European than the American market. Also, they were satisfied that if further concessions were made to the colonies the whole British imperial system would be undermined and mercantilist exploitation made virtually impossible.

While contradictions within British mercantilism were tending to divide commercial groups in England, British radicals were vigorously pushing forward their campaign for the repeal of the Townshend Acts. In 1770, Richard Oliver, running for Parliament, focused attention on the American crisis by making the colonial issue the central plank in his platform. Similarly, Wilkes raised his voice on behalf of the colonies, a move so greatly appreciated in America that large sums of money were

subscribed to further the Englishman's campaign for election to Parliament. In addition, Boston Liberty Boys sent letters to the celebrated British radical encouraging him to continue his fight against reactionary elements in the mother country.

Partial repeal of the Townshend Acts did not satisfy the friends of freedom in either Britain or the colonies. Those in America prepared themselves for the fight that was to come by launching their own political parties, the backbone of which consisted of craftsmen smarting under the defeat administered to them by the mercantile elements in 1770. Prior to that date, there was only one mechanics' party in the colonies and that was located in Charleston, South Carolina. Founded in 1766 by Christopher Gadsden, a leading member of the Sons of Liberty, it was able two years later to elect three of its nominees to office. This party played a leading role in the agitation against the Townshend Acts, filling one-third of the posts on the committees formed to enforce nonimportation agreements.

After 1770 craftsmen in other cities followed the lead of their brethren in Charleston. In 1772, an organization called the Patriotic Society was formed in Philadelphia to preserve "our just Rights and Privileges to us and our Posterity against every attempt to violate or infringe same, either here or *on the other side of the Atlantic*." [12] Two years later this body blossomed forth as the Mechanics Association of Philadelphia. In the same year (1774) the workingmen of New York reorganized the Sons of Liberty under the name of the Committee of Mechanics. This body represented not only the political aspirations of the masses but also the revolutionary objectives of the radicals. It was the first organized body in New York to go on record for independence.

Although not grouped into a separate political party, the artisans and workingmen of Boston practically operated as such through the Sons of Liberty. This body was extremely fortunate in having Sam Adams as its leader, a man whose every action was characterized by an unwavering opposition to the wealthy merchants of Boston and to the British government in the Bay Colony. Described by one writer as "the first organizer of American democracy as a political force," this leader of the radical party hit upon the idea of forging a united front between his artisan followers in Boston and radical farmers in the countryside. To make this combination effective, he induced the Boston town meeting in 1772 to establish a Committee of Correspondence to communicate with other towns in Massachusetts on the state of American affairs. It was no accident that eighteen of the twenty-one members of the Boston Committee of Correspondence in 1772 were Liberty Boys. Sam Adams was ably assisted in his work by Joseph Warren and Paul Revere, leaders of the North End Caucus, a club composed mainly of craftsmen and workers. These two men had the utmost confidence in the stability and integrity of the artisan class. On one occasion, Warren asserted his faith in the following manner, "I fear New York will not assist us with good grace, but she may be ashamed to desert us: at least if her MERCHANTS offer to sell us, her MECHANICS will forbid the auction." [13]

Sam Adams, Joseph Warren, and Paul Revere were given an opportunity to bring matters to a head when in 1773 Parliament passed a law which practically gave the East India Company a monopoly of the colonial tea trade. Owing to mismanagement, this company was on the brink of disaster; it had a large debt and an enormous supply of unsold tea. Parliament, in line with its mercantilist policies, came to the aid of the virtually bankrupt company by permitting it to reship tea to the colonies without paying the existing tax levied upon it in Britain. In this way the East India Company could sell the beverage in America for less than in the mother country. At the same time it was in a position to undersell Dutch smugglers who were carrying on a thriving illegal trade with the colonies. Since Americans would have an opportunity to buy tea cheaply, the British government anticipated no colonial disorders.

But they did not understand the temper of the colonies. American traders who had large stocks of unsold Dutch tea on hand opposed the landing of the beverage. They were joined by mechanics and workers who prized freedom more than the opportunity to buy tea cheaply. Their attitude was well expressed by the North End Caucus of Boston which voted "to oppose the vending [of] any Tea, sent by the East India Company to any part of this Continent, with our lives and fortunes." [14] Soon after the passage of this resolution, a large crowd of people heard Thomas Young, a leading Liberty Boy, suggest that the tea that had just arrived by ship be thrown overboard. On December 16, 1773, a considerable number of tradesmen, craftsmen, and laborers, disguised as Indians, boarded the vessel and within a short time dumped into Boston harbor 342 chests of tea worth £18,000 sterling. The fact that practically every town in Massachusetts supported the action taken by the people of Boston was a testimonial to the effectiveness of Sam Adams' committees of correspondence.

When news of the Boston Tea Party reached the mother country, English merchants and landlords closed ranks and demanded immediate action. Their spokesmen in Parliament first responded with rhetorical outbursts which depicted the episode as a wanton destruction of British property and as an open flouting of British authority; then with a series of punitive measures.

THE COERCIVE ACTS: The first of these acts, the Boston Port Bill, effective June 1, 1774, closed that town's harbor to all shipping until the East India Company was reimbursed. The second provided that Crown agents charged with offenses while doing their duty might be tried in other colonies or in England. The third made provision for the quartering of British troops in Boston, while the fourth gave the governor power to appoint members of the provincial Council, restrict the holding of town meetings, and provide for the appointment of jurors.

Of these four punitive measures, the Boston Port Bill had the most immediate and devastating effects. Since Boston was wholly dependent on trade, the Port Bill abruptly cut off her principal source of livelihood. By the end of May, some 15,000 people, according to one contemporary estimate, were on the verge of starvation. A donations committee, consisting largely of Liberty Boys, was organized to distribute as well as to receive food, clothing, and money. Those who applied to the committee for relief were mainly mechanics and laborers whose meager resources were insufficient to carry them through months of unemployment. Realizing the acute distress among these workingmen, the British authorities in Boston tried to bribe them into submission by hiring them to build barracks. But when these workers saw what they were doing, they promptly laid down their tools. The same spirit was shown by the blacksmiths who resolved not to work "for any person or persons... [deemed] enemies to this country...."[15]

The Coercive Acts of 1774 bound the colonies more closely together by making them realize that an injury to one was an injury to all. The attempt to punish Massachusetts was regarded by the people of America as the opening gun in a campaign to intimidate every colony. As the deputy governor of Pennsylvania aptly observed at the time "They [the people] look upon the chastisement... of Boston to be purposely rigorous, and held up by way of intimidation to all *America*...."[16] Accordingly, every colony responded to Boston's call for help by sending food, clothing, and money. Contributions poured into the "Metropolis of Sedition" not only from every province in America, but also from the West Indies, Canada, and Britain. So universal was the appeal that the lord mayor of London himself was reported to have been among those contributing to the relief of the suffering people of Boston.

The Coercive Acts helped to clarify the situation for most Americans. In the Boston Port Bill, Parliament announced in no uncertain terms that it had the power not only to regulate but also to destroy colonial commerce. In the Massachusetts Government Act, it actually changed a colonial government without even giving the province an opportunity to defend itself. In the Quartering Act, Parliament made it clear that it intended to use colonially supported British troops to put down disorders in America.

To make the pill even more bitter, Parliament supplemented these intolerable measures with the Quebec Act of 1774. This law, prepared even before the North ministry took up the question of obstreperous Massachusetts, extended the boundaries of the province of Quebec to the Ohio and the Mississippi and granted religious liberty to all French Catholics living in the colony. The act made no provision for a representative assembly.

Colonial speculators were struck with consternation by the adoption of the Quebec Act. Particularly was this true of the Virginia planters who, as a class, were turning to western land speculation in an effort to extricate themselves from excessive indebtedness to British creditors. It is estimated that on the eve of the American Revolution the planters of Virginia owed British merchants over £2,300,000, a little more than one-half of the total colonial debt outstanding. Since tobacco cultivation was becoming less and less profitable, Virginia planters had to find other ways of making money. No undertaking attracted them more than western land speculation. Not much capital was needed for the venture, while the returns were large. As the supply of land east of the line fixed by the Proclamation of 1763 was exhausted by 1774, expectant landholders as well as speculators looked beyond the mountains to the upper Ohio valley. But prospects in this direction were blasted by the Quebec Act of 1774. While the British government was closing much of the trans-Allegheny West to Virginia speculators, it was opening up new regions to British investors. After 1763, large tracts of land located in Canada, Nova Scotia, Florida, and the Prince Edward Island were granted by the Crown to British merchants, landlords, and army officers.

Colonial land policy was also affected in 1774 by the promulgation of new Crown regulations. The new orders related to the disposal of ungranted lands in Virginia, New York, North Carolina, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and throughout the West. The Ordinance of 1774 provided that all future grants of land were to be surveyed in regular lots and were to be auctioned to the highest bidder at a price not less than six pence an acre. These regulations made more difficult the acquisition of land by small farmers and would-be property-holders. Jefferson, as the rising spokesman of the agrarian democracy, objected to the ordinance on the ground that the king alone had no right to grant such lands.

The repressive measures adopted by the British government in 1774 were the logical results of a consistent policy. Despite the complexity of the British political scene in the critical decade after 1763, one thing stands out: the desire on the part of those profiting from colonial trade and investments to subordinate all interests in America to their own welfare. Whether the king's authority was strong or weak, whether the party in power was Whig or Tory, British landlords and merchants worked increasingly to keep the colonies in leading strings. Never for a moment did the king or Parliament show any indication of abandoning mercantilism in order to allow the American economy to develop in the interests of the vast majority of colonial merchants, planters, farmers, mechanics, and workers. Faced by so unyielding a policy, the colonists were confronted with the choice of submission and stagnation or resistance and growth.

THE MOVEMENT FOR SEPARATION

THE RISE OF EXTRA-LEGAL BODIES—THE DUAL POWER: By the summer of 1774 an increasingly large body of Americans was ready to oppose Britain. The temper of the country was reflected in the proposal that a Continental Congress be called immediately to discuss the "deplorable circumstances" occasioned by the British action in closing the port of Boston, and to secure the "common rights" of America. The suggestion was taken up and where regular assemblies could not appoint delegates, provincial conventions were called to do so. These extra-legal bodies instructed their representatives to extend moral and monetary aid to Massachusetts and to strike back at Britain with the old economic weapon of nonimportation. In several states sharp struggles took place between moderates and radicals over the selection of congressional delegates. The moderates, composed largely of merchants and planters, wanted to reimburse the East India Company for the tea lost. They also favored the creation of machinery within the empire for the settlement of all controversial questions in the future. The radicals, consisting mainly of small tradesmen, farmers, mechanics, and laborers, were opposed to halfway measures; they wanted a boycott to force the British ruling classes to recognize home rule in America.

All the thirteen colonies, except Georgia, sent delegates to the first Continental Congress which met on September 5, 1774, at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. Although the fifty-five members present agreed to oppose the Coercive Acts, they were divided over the question of how far to go in their resistance to the mother country. The division resulted in the emergence of two groups—the moderates represented by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, John Jay of New York, and John Rutledge of South Carolina, and the radicals by Sam Adams of Massachusetts, Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry of Virginia, and Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina. Aided by the pressure from below, the radicals were able to dominate the congress. One disconsolate Maryland merchant complained that "... *Adams*, with his crew, and the haughty Sultans of the South, juggled the whole conclave of Delegates. Fie on't, Oh fie!"[17] Sam Adams was the power behind the scenes. A political strategist of great ability, Adams came to Philadelphia in September with resolutions passed by Suffolk County, Massachusetts. These statements, written by Joseph Warren, a leader of the Boston mechanics and workingmen, denied the legality of the Coercive Acts and recommended a policy of nonintercourse. When the Continental Congress approved the historic "Suffolk Resolves," Adams and his fellow radicals won a great victory. Another triumph was registered when on October 14 the delegates adopted a Declaration of Rights. This manifesto asserted that the colonists were entitled by the laws of nature and of man to life, liberty, and property, and that only bodies directly representing them had the right to tax them. Although a few radicals like Adams would have preferred a stronger declaration—even one announcing American independence—they nevertheless realized that in the fall of 1774 most of the colonists desired to remain within the empire if their grievances could be adjusted. The radicals scored their greatest victory when the Congress on October 20 established a Continental Association which pledged itself not to import certain British goods after December 1, 1774, not to consume tea after March 1, 1775, and not to export to England after September 10, 1775. To see to it that these agreements were enforced, the Congress voted to have the people select their own local committees, a move calculated to give the radical farmers and artisans control of the anti-British movement.

And that was exactly what happened. In New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, committees, formerly in moderate hands, were taken over by radical mechanics and workingmen. In Savannah "nobodies" succeeded to power, the Governor of Georgia lamenting the fact that the "Parochial Committee are a Parcel of the Lowest People, Chiefly Carpenters, Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, &c...."[18] A minister in Charleston was dismissed by his congregation for asserting "that *mechanics* and country *clowns* had no right to dispute about politics, or what King, Lords and Commons had done, or might do." One newspaper took up the clergyman's remarks by informing "All *such* divines... that mechanics and country clowns (infamously so-called) are the real, and absolute masters of King, Lords, Commons and Priests...."[19] Local committees were set up to support the Continental Association. Since they derived their authority from extra-legal provincial congresses, these bodies soon assumed governmental powers. They persuaded people to join the association, published the names of those who refused, and closed courts when British merchants sued to collect debts long due. So effectively did they function that British trade with America fell to about £200,000 in 1775 as compared with approximately £2,500,000 the year before.

By this time, there was no longer a faction among the British merchants that believed the colonial market could be saved by conciliation. Finding the loss of American customers offset by the increasing demand for English merchandise in Europe, and convinced that British radicals were using the American crisis to further the democratic movement in the mother country, the British merchants as a whole decided to follow the ministerial policy of coercion. Many of those who still hesitated were gradually brought into line by the alluring prospect of lucrative army contracts in the event of war.

In the meantime, preparations were being made in America for armed insurrection. Under radical leadership groups of minute men were formed—the shock troops of the rapidly approaching Revolution. They elected their own officers, collected their own ammunition, and set aside regular periods for drilling. In the winter of 1774-75 radical leaders also organized military intelligence units. Of these the most efficient was that formed in Boston. Composed chiefly of mechanics, this group, which was headed by Paul Revere, was able to obtain valuable information concerning the military designs of the British high command in New England. When in December, 1774, General Gage, acting governor of Massachusetts and commander-in-chief of the royal forces in America, planned to move some military stores from Portsmouth, Revere was sent to that town to inform the Liberty Boys of what was happening. Similarly, General Gage's intention of arresting Sam Adams and John Hancock was uncovered by Revere's espionage system, the Boston mechanic himself riding to Lexington on April 16, 1775, to warn the two men of the impending danger. Two days later Revere set out again, this time with instructions to conduct Adams and Hancock to safer quarters and rouse the countryside to the danger of British troop movements. Similar instructions were given to William Dawes who reached Lexington only a short time after Revere. When the British troops arrived the following day, April 19, they found fifty minute men blocking their path. A skirmish took place after which the redcoats proceeded to Concord. After remaining awhile, they decided to return to Boston. What happened on their way back filled all America with pride. As if springing up from nowhere, armed citizens appeared on the scene. Adopting the tactics of what we today call partisan warfare, they took positions behind trees, barns, and rocks. So thoroughly did they do their job that day that only about two-thirds of the original enemy force managed to reach Boston alive.

When news of the battles of Lexington and Concord reached New York, small shopkeepers, mechanics, and workingmen seized the city arsenal and proceeded to distribute arms to "the most active of the Citizens who formed themselves into a Voluntary Corps and assumed the Government of the City."[20] Similar occurrences took place throughout America as the colonies moved from passive resistance to open rebellion.

In such an atmosphere of tension, the extra-legal bodies created by the revolutionary party vied with the regularly constituted authorities for power. Especially bitter was the struggle for control between the provincial congresses and the legally established colonial governments. When in 1774 some governors refused to call meetings of the colonial assemblies or dissolved those already in session, provincial bodies were organized by anti-British elements. At first, these congresses limited their activities to drafting remonstrances, electing delegates to the Continental Congress, and enforcing nonimportation agreements. After the battles of Lexington and Concord, they broadened their work to such an extent that they were soon exercising all the functions of government. Although the regularly constituted authorities tried to stem the tide of insurrection, they were unsuccessful. By the end of 1775, the provincial congresses were dominant in all of the thirteen colonies except three. By the summer of 1776 not a single royal or proprietary government was left in America. Also, by that time, practically every provincial congress had its own Committee of Safety which enlisted men, handled military supplies, and arrested counter-revolutionaries. Meanwhile, town, parish, and county committees of correspondence and inspection were taking over governmental powers as British authority declined throughout America. Eventually these local bodies came under the control of the provincial congresses and, as a result, a more efficient revolutionary organization was established.

The task of co-ordinating activities on a national scale was left to the Continental Congress. This body, whose delegates were selected by the provinces, spoke in the name of the colonies as a whole. Thus, when the Second Continental Congress met in May, 1775, in Philadelphia, it took it upon itself to declare that a state of war existed between America and Britain. One month later it established a national army with George Washington, the Virginia planter, at its head. It also issued a manifesto explaining the causes and necessity for taking up arms and pledging the united colonies not to give in until the British aggressors had stopped hostilities.

The adoption of these measures made Americans take sides and as a result two clearly defined parties arose—Patriot (revolutionary) and Tory (counter-revolutionary). The Patriot party drew the bulk of its supporters from the mass of small farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, and workers. Various reasons combined to make colonial farmers align themselves with the revolutionary party. In the first place, British trade regulations meant lower prices for farm surpluses because of restrictions upon colonial markets, while British impositions boosted the cost of articles purchased. Secondly, the Currency Act of 1764 adversely affected small farmers by reducing the amount of money in circulation. Such contraction made farmers' debts more burdensome because they had to be paid in a scarce and therefore dear currency. Third, the British land program of 1774 made it impossible for farmers, faced by foreclosures and soil exhaustion, to take up land in unoccupied areas. Voicing the dissatisfaction of the yeomanry with British policies were such spokesmen as George Clinton of New York and Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.

Like most of the small farmers, the mass of city tradesmen, artisans, and workingmen sided with the Patriot forces. They opposed Britain for several reasons. Parliamentary restrictions on manufacturing antagonized craftsmen, while sailors and dockyard laborers, threatened by wage cuts and unemployment, complained bitterly over the enforcement of British trade laws. Furthermore, shopkeepers, mechanics, and workingmen stood to lose by the Currency Act of 1764 if they were debtors and by the Land Ordinance of 1774 if they expected to become farmers. The anti-British sentiments of the urban masses were expressed by men like Sam Adams and Joseph Warren of Boston and Isaac Sears and John Lamb of New York.

Although small farmers, shopkeepers, artisans, and workers made up the bulk of the Patriot party, this was supported also by large sections of the planting, mercantile, and professional groups. By 1775 most southern planters were convinced that there was nothing left for them but revolt. Owing to British trade regulations their debt burden had become unbearable. "With their plantations, slaves, and sometimes household furniture hypothecated, the planters were in an almost inextricable position in 1775," writes one historian. "It seemed that nothing short of virtual repudiation could relieve them."[21] But the vast majority of southern planters hesitated to take such a step because as creditors in Amerca they did not want to set a bad example. Up to 1774 many of them still had hopes of paying off at least the interest on the money they owed through land speculation in the trans-Allegheny West. When such expectations were rudely shattered by the passage of the Quebec Act, they were faced with economic ruin, and a large body of the southern planting class joined the anti-British coalition. Among the planters who joined the Patriot party were George Washington, Peyton Randolph, George Mason, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison of Virginia, Charles Carroll and Thomas Johnson of Maryland, and John Rutledge, Arthur Middleton, and Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina.

Disaffected merchants also aligned themselves with the Patriot party. The payment of additional taxes, the Parliamentary threat to destroy colonial commerce implicit in the Boston Port Bill, the stricter enforcement of the trade laws, and the prohibition on western land speculation contained in the Quebec Act were not calculated to make colonial businessmen any friendlier to the mother country. Seeing their existing investments threatened and prevented from making new ones, many merchants, such as John Hancock of Massachusetts, Thomas and Samuel Wharton of Pennsylvania, and Moses Brown of Rhode Island, cast their lot with the anti-British forces. They were joined by a group of New York aristocrats—Philip Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, and Philip Schuyler—all of whom were interested in land, commerce, and the fur trade.

Many educators, doctors, and lawyers, connected through marriage or business with upper class planters and merchants, also joined the national front against Britain. John Witherspoon, president of Princeton College, George Wythe, professor of law at the College of William and Mary, Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, John Jay of New York, and John Adams of Boston provided the Patriot forces with ideological weapons.

In addition to fundamental economic considerations, there were others of a non-material character which induced colonial merchants, planters, lawyers, teachers, doctors, farmers, tradesmen, artisans, and laborers to throw in their lot with the Patriot forces. There was a desire on the part of all these elements to preserve their "rights and liberties"—the freedom of conducting their affairs in a manner designed to advance their interests, not those of English politicians, landlords, and merchants three thousand miles away. Besides, as previously discussed, a growing sense of national consciousness blunted the sentimental attachment many still had for the mother country.

While the chief strength of the revolutionary party lay in the masses, the Tory faction depended for its following mainly upon wealthy landlords, substantial merchants, Crown officials, and well-established professionals. Political and economic considerations combined to make these elements loyal to the mother country. Most of them were attached to British institutions; all of them stood in fear of the masses. As men of large property, they wanted to see the status quo rigidly maintained. Moreover, they had more to gain inside than outside of the empire. Landowners like Sir John Johnson who held 50,000 acres in the Mohawk Valley and Sir James Wright who possessed a huge estate in Georgia were pro-British because England's policy of restricting the disposal of ungranted lands raised the speculative value of their own holdings. Merchants who served as contractors for the British army in America, who traded directly with England and the empire, or who acted as commission agents for English mercantile houses had everything to lose if the imperial tie was broken. Crown officials were in practically the same position: their economic stake in America measured by salaries alone came to £30,000 a year. Similarly, lawyers who served British interests in the colonies and Anglican clergymen who feared the abolition of tithes remained steadfast in their fidelity to the mother country.

The Tory party had only a small following among the masses. In North Carolina, some Regulators sided with the Tories because they hated pro-American Tidewater speculators more than they did the English government. Similarly, in Georgia, some frontier settlers, dependent on England for protection against the Indians, were pro-British. In New York, the small farmers of Westchester County had a large Tory contingent because of their desire to preserve the gains they had made during the anti-rent movement of 1766. Some of those who had been active in the great rebellion and who lived in the counties north of Westchester hated rapacious colonial landlords so much that, like the North Carolina Regulators, they became Tories. They also did not forget that it was the king who had pardoned their leader, Prendergast.

Of these two groups the Patriot party represented the vast majority of the American people in 1775. "As between patriots and loyalists," writes Professor Nettels, "it may be stated with assurance that, despite the absence of statistics on the subject, an overwhelming majority of the colonists were hostile to British policy in 1775. The number of loyalists was so small that in most places (except in the presence of British troops) they were ruthlessly kept down by mass pressure." [22]

Despite the great strength of the Patriot party among the people, its position was somewhat weakened in the summer of 1775 by dissension within its ranks. One camp, headed by Sam Adams, wanted the vigorous prosecution of the war and a declaration of immediate independence from Britain, while the other group, led by John Dickinson, favored a conciliatory program the aim of which was to permit the colonies to remain within the empire. The Dickinson group scored a notable victory when in July, 1775, the Continental Congress adopted a humble address to the king called the Olive Branch Petition. With its refusal by the Crown, however, the radicals gained the upper hand as British policy stiffened and American resistance grew.

THE BIRTH OF THE AMERICAN NATION: The ascendancy of the radical wing of the Patriot party was due in no small measure to the uncompromising stand taken by the British ruling classes toward proposals coming from appeasement groups in America. In August, 1775, the king not only refused to accept the Olive Branch Petition drafted the month before by the moderate element in Congress, but also issued a proclamation stigmatizing Americans as rebels and calling upon all to stop helping them. Some months later Parliament passed an act prohibiting all trade with the thirteen colonies, a move designed to strangle America economically. Such measures by Parliament and the king closed the door to appeasement and cut the ground from under the conciliationist Dickinson group. If wavering colonials still required evidence that the British ruling classes would not and could not be appeased, the burning of the town of Falmouth, Maine, by a British naval force in October, 1775, and the devastation of the Virginia countryside by British warships in January, 1776, should have proved convincing.

Actions such as these served only to strengthen the antimonarchical and anti-aristocratic tendencies of yeomen and artisans. The demand for immediate independence became more insistent as the belief spread that the hour to strike had come. The popular feeling was made articulate by a fifty-page pamphlet entitled *Common Sense* from the pen of a recently arrived English radical, Thomas Paine. Written in a straightforward and trenchant style, this booklet hammered home the need for separation. It held up hereditary monarchy to contempt and castigated the British ruling classes for exploiting the common man in America and in England. It urged the colonies to declare themselves free and independent states so that they might establish in North America a haven of refuge for the oppressed peoples of the world. "O! ye that love mankind!" Paine wrote, "Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."[23]

Common Sense put into words what the plain people were thinking. Tens of thousands of copies circulated throughout the country. Peddlers carried it along with the rest of their wares to distant hamlets. Paine's best seller served the American cause in still another way in so far as the author, despite his poverty, generously donated all proceeds to the revolutionary movement.

In the meantime, Congress sent envoys abroad to win support for the rapidly developing revolution. In the British West Indies, the American agents were given a sympathetic hearing: the assemblies of Jamaica and Barbados passed resolutions supporting Boston. In the Bahamas, arms were seized from the island's forts and shipped to the colonies, while Bermuda actually sent delegates to attend the sessions of the Continental Congress. In the spring of 1776, while Paine's pamphlet was crystallizing sentiment for the creation of a separate American nation, Franklin was sent to Canada to persuade the people of Montreal and Quebec to join the colonies against England.

Meanwhile the Continental Congress was moving toward independence. In March, 1776, it ordered all Tories disarmed and authorized the fitting out of privateers. In April, it opened up American ports to the ships of all nations by nullifying the Acts of Trade and Navigation, a step which virtually amounted to a declaration of independence on behalf of American merchant capital. In May, Congress suggested that the old governments be replaced by new ones based on the will of the people.

In June, 1776, the stage was set for the last act in the drama. On June 7 Richard Henry Lee of Virginia proposed a resolution in favor of separation. The appeasers, headed by Dickinson, were still strong enough to postpone a vote on the motion. On

June 28, however, they sustained a setback when a committee of five—Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingston—was appointed to draft a declaration of independence. On July 2, Lee's motion was adopted by the Continental Congress. The manifesto, drawn up by Jefferson and presented on behalf of the committee of five, was then debated. Over the opposition of Jefferson, that portion of the declaration condemning the slave trade was deleted because of the hostility of South Carolina and Georgia. On July 4, the document was adopted. New York ratified it five days later. On August 2, an engrossed copy was signed by those present; some who were away affixed their signatures later on.

The Declaration of Independence embodied the political views of the bourgeois-democratic wing of the Revolution. In no uncertain terms it proclaimed the democratic principles "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute [a] new Government...." [24] The manifesto then proceeded to prove that the king, George III, had tried to establish "an absolute tyranny" over the colonies. Although historians have never grown tired of pointing out that Parliament and not the king should have been blamed for this, it ought to be noted in passing, as Professor Becker does, that "the framers of the Declaration were not writing history, but making it." [25] After presenting a list of specific indictments against George III, the document concluded with the resolution that "these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States...." [26]

Jefferson's Declaration of Independence came to the people of '76 as a clarion call to battle. Designed to preserve the Revolution through the creation of a separate nation, the great manifesto inspired the common man to fight for freedom. The birth of the American nation was one phase of the struggle, the growth of American democracy the other.

CHAPTER VI

WAR AND REVOLUTION, 1776–1783

> *"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it* now, *deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph.... 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death."*
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> —THOMAS PAINE, *The American Crisis*, NO. 1, DECEMBER, 1776

THE first American Revolution was the product of two general movements: the struggle for self government and national independence and the struggle among the American people themselves for a more democratic order. The Revolution therefore had an external aspect, the colonial war of liberation against Britain, and an internal aspect, the mass upsurge against anti-democratic elements. It ushered in the modern era of revolutionary struggles and became the prototype of a whole series of bourgeois-democratic upheavals in Europe and colonial uprisings throughout the world.

In the American War of Independence, thirteen weak and loosely federated states found themselves opposed to the mightiest nation on earth, one that had attained world supremacy in the course of its history by meeting and successively defeating Spain, the Netherlands, and France. Unprovided at first with an army, navy, money, or matériel, these thirteen struggling states eventually succeeded in forging a people's army capable of conducting regular campaigns and of carrying on partisan warfare. They raised money by issuing paper currency and long-term securities and obtained necessary supplies by developing war industry at home and purchasing war materials abroad. After six and a half years of fighting, they compelled the British to give up the struggle and to recognize the independence of the United States.

This American Revolution was fought not only to free a young, expanding people from the restraining clutches of an imperial parent, but also to elevate the political and social conditions of the masses. It saw the transfer of state power from Englishmen to Americans. Those who opposed the change—the Tories—were ruthlessly suppressed, especially as the revolutionary movement progressed. While the Patriot party was stamping out pro-British elements, it was itself being divided into two contending camps. One represented the Right or bourgeois wing of the Revolution and consisted chiefly of merchants and planters who desired a government strong enough to protect them against ultra-radical tendencies. The other, the Left or bourgeois-democratic wing, was composed largely of farmers, shopkeepers, mechanics, and workingmen who hoped to establish a government interested in raising the political and economic status of the people at large.

The struggle between these two wings of the Revolution was sharp and bitter, with the bourgeois-democracy more than holding its own during the war. Accordingly, American society was more fully democratized. Small farmers and would-be property holders made political and economic gains principally at the expense of counter-revolutionary Tories. At the same time, the Patriot bourgeoisie was strengthening its position economically and at the end of the war was considerably stronger than it had been at the beginning. Politically, at the close of the conflict, it obtained a dominant position in a number of states and was on the verge of launching an offensive to establish a new national government capable of safeguarding and advancing its interests against agrarian and artisan elements.

THE WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE OPPOSING FORCES: When the American war of liberation began, it seemed as though the revolutionary cause were doomed to failure because of the tremendous resources Britain had at her command. Her merchants, pre-eminent in the field of commerce and finance, had large sums of money available for investment in government securities. Since such investments brought interest and not infrequently lucrative war contracts, British traders and bankers readily extended funds to the government.

In this way Britain was able to raise enough money to enroll and equip a sizable military force. In 1775 her army numbered only 30,000 men, a little less than one-third of whom were stationed in America. Knowing well that such a force was too small to subdue the colonies, the British government decided to expand its army by recruiting Englishmen at home. However, efforts in this direction proved not too successful despite the presence of a potential fighting force of 2,000,000 men out of a population of 10,000,000. Accordingly, the British ruling classes "bought" foreign troops, 18,000 of them being contracted for in 1775. By the end of the war, some 20,000 mercenaries had been hired, most of them coming from petty German principalities. In addition to these hired troops, Britain had the services of thousands of Tories and a majority of the Indian tribes on the frontier. Indian support was obtained through offers of trinkets, rum, and guns and by playing upon native fears with respect to American expansion westward. Although the British army did not contain elements willing to fight to the bitter end, it nevertheless had large numbers of professional soldiers, well disciplined and equipped and enlisted for comparatively long terms.

The Americans, on the other hand, were forced to rely upon unseasoned and untrained militiamen whose short-term enlistments made a large turnover inevitable. It was not uncommon for farmers who made up the bulk of the American army to shoulder their muskets in the spring and return home by the late summer or fall to harvest their crops, a state of affairs which made it difficult to keep a large continental force under arms. Although the total number of enlistments during the war was several hundred thousands, Washington's army at its peak never came to more than 16,000. This number was reached in the summer of 1776; by the end of the year his forces had fallen to only 5,000.*

On the sea Britain's superiority was even more pronounced. Possessing the largest navy in the world, the British, at least before the entrance of France into the war, were able to move their armies up and down the coast and occupy almost any American seaport at will. In addition, Britain's naval superiority permitted her to establish a blockade of the American coast which, though not one hundred per cent effective, was nevertheless strong enough to practically ruin New England's fishery and make difficult the importation of vital military supplies. Against the powerful British navy, the Americans fitted out privateers and, toward the end of the war, a few warships.

Similarly, Britain used her financial resources to bribe American patriots. Joseph Reed, an influential member of Congress, was offered £10,000 sterling if he would use his good offices to effect a reconciliation between Britain and her colonies. In turning down the bribe, Reed asserted that if he was worth purchasing, "the King of Great-Britain was not rich enough to do it."[1] Many others voiced similar sentiments when approached by British agents. For every Benedict Arnold who was ready to sell his country, there were thousands who stood fast. As Washington so aptly observed, traitors were "the growth of every country and in a revolution of the present nature, it is more to be wondered at, that the catalogue is so small than that there have been found a few."[2] When Ethan Allen, hero of Ticonderoga, and the leader of the Green Mountain Boys, was once approached to join the British, he replied that he would not participate in any "damned Arnold plan to sell his country...."[3] The British used titles as well as money to bribe American patriots. Proposals were made to elevate Adams, Hancock, Washington, and Franklin to the peerage. They were to be given offices and pensions for life. One Englishman suggested that Washington be made a duke to induce him to desert the revolutionary cause as General Monck had done at the time of the Commonwealth.

FORGING A PEOPLE'S ARMY: The apparent hopelessness of the Patriot cause at the outbreak of the war was due not only to the fact that British resources were a hundred times greater than those of America, but also that the colonials began the conflict without even an army. When Washington took command of the Continental forces at Cambridge in 1775, he found farmers and artisans dressed in their working clothes. Even such a high-ranking officer as General Putnam, doughty Liberty Boy, rode into battle in shirt sleeves with a battered hat on his head as if he were still working on his farm. To give the army some semblance of order Washington recommended that the men wear hunting shirts. Since most of them did not possess such a garment, the army continued to present a variegated appearance.

Virtually the same situation existed throughout the war. The following is an eye-witness account of one Virginia cavalry unit, "Some had one boot, some hoseless with their feet peering out of their shoes, others in breeches that put decency to blush, some in short jackets, others in long coats—all however with dragoon caps."[4] This description reveals the lack of supplies from which the army suffered, a condition which persisted throughout the conflict owing to the absence of adequate war industries, the avarice of army contractors, and the establishment of the British blockade. In 1776, Washington complained of the difficulty of trying to conduct operations without gunpowder and arms. In the following year, General Schuyler described his forces as lacking provisions, camp equipage, ammunition, and cannon. As late as 1782, General Greene declared that the American soldiers were almost naked for want of overalls and shirts and that the greater part of the army was barefoot. The lack of footwear was a constant source of complaint. In 1776 an army of 12,000 men in the Ticonderoga area had only 900 pairs of shoes. Food was also lacking. Daily rations were small; very often the men went three days a week without bread and meat.

What the American army lacked in supplies it made up in courage, perseverance, and skill in the use of arms. The majority

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*Compare with the estimates given in J. F. Jameson's *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton, 1940), page 48. According to this authority, the American army never totaled more than 90,000 men, a number reached only in 1776, and representing a little less than one-half of the potential fighting manpower of the country. In 1779 and 1780 the continental forces consisted of 45,000 men.

of the farmers, artisans, and workingmen who sprang up as if from nowhere to defend their homes were accustomed to hardship and privation. They showed admirable valor and hardihood. Washington had this to say about the men who stood by him at Valley Forge, "Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery. . . ."[5] The American commander-in-chief was convinced that when the story of the American Revolution was told by future historians, readers would find it hard to believe that so powerful a nation as Britain could have been overcome by a numerically smaller country, whose army was composed of men frequently half-starved and experiencing almost every kind of distress. In addition to being devoted to a cause they held dear, American soldiers knew how to handle guns and were expert marksmen, skills which they had acquired as a result of the rigors of frontier life. Their ability in this field made British troop movements into the interior almost impossible. As a result, British influence rarely extended beyond the coastal plain. So long as this state of affairs prevailed, the Continental army could withdraw to the great American hinterland and, if necessary, fight from behind the Alleghenies until the last British soldier was driven from America.

The armed citizenry was chiefly officered by men who came from civilian life. Nathanael Greene was a blacksmith; Francis Marion, a planter; John Crane, a carpenter; Anthony Wayne, a farmer and surveyor; John Sullivan, a lawyer; and Israel Putnam, a farmer. Most of the officers knew little of actual warfare and still less of military science. In the beginning many of them were elected to their posts by the men in the ranks; later on, they were appointed by regular government bodies.

The American army included Negro as well as white soldiers, despite the fact that the existence of slavery had produced laws hindering the enrollment of Negroes. John Rutledge, a delegate from the slave-holding state of South Carolina, secured the passage by the Continental Congress of a resolution in October, 1775, which forbade the use of Negroes as soldiers. The measure, however, was never fully carried out. In New England, where slavery was not much of a problem, free Negroes were permitted to enlist for service from the beginning. As Massachusetts and Rhode Island found it increasingly difficult to raise troops because of the manpower shortage, both passed laws (1778) for the enlistment of slaves as soldiers. Once enrolled the chattels were granted their freedom. Maryland took similar action in 1780 and New York in 1781. Such steps were frowned upon by the southern states where the vast majority of the 500,000 Negroes of the country resided. South Carolina and Georgia absolutely refused to allow the enlistment of Negro soldiers even though Congress in 1779 urged them to do so. In that year both of these states were threatened by a British army, and Congress, seeking to save the revolutionary cause in this area, offered to pay $1,000 for every Negro that South Carolina and Georgia permitted to enroll in the American army. Since this meant freedom for such slaves, the offer was refused. As a result, almost all of Georgia and eastern South Carolina was overrun by the British. Lord Dunmore, the royalist governor of Virginia, tried to bring Patriot planters to their senses by issuing a proclamation in 1775 offering the slaves of "rebels" freedom if they went over to the British. Negroes, yearning for liberty, availed themselves of Dunmore's proclamation and as a result tens of thousands passed through the British lines—many of them destined to be shipped to the West Indies and there sold as slaves. Fortunately for the American cause, the interests of English slave traders, southern Tory planters, and West Indian sugar growers prevented the British from giving the war even the semblance of an anti-slavery crusade.

When permitted to do so, free Negroes and slaves fought in the ranks of the Revolutionary army. They stood side by side with embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord, they held fast at Bunker Hill, they suffered and died at Valley Forge and they were at Yorktown when Cornwallis surrendered. Some of them, like Peter Salem at Bunker Hill, were cited for gallantry and bravery in action, while others, like Pompey at Stony Point, rendered invaluable espionage service. Although most of the companies in which the Negroes served were mixed, some, like the celebrated "Bucks of America," a Massachusetts unit, were made up entirely of Negro soldiers. Negroes also fought as partisans, under Marion "the Swamp Fox" in the Carolinas and under one of their own—Barzillai Lew, a six-foot cooper—in New England.

The women of the country, too, contributed their share to the forging of a people's army. They gave lead from their windows and pewter from their kitchens so that the American forces might have bullets. They went from house to house to raise money and obtain provisions for the troops at the front. They worked the farms so as to supply the army with food. On occasion they even burned their crops to prevent them from falling into the hands of the hated redcoats. They nursed the sick and the wounded; they even fought on the field of battle. Among these was Mary Ludwig Hays McCauley, better known as Molly Pitcher. At the battle of Monmouth (June, 1778), this plucky woman, who was carrying pitchers of water to exhausted and wounded soldiers, suddenly found herself servicing a cannon after her husband had been disabled. Like Molly Pitcher, Deborah Gannet served in the ranks of the Revolutionary army. This Negro woman enlisted in the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment under the name of Robert Shurtliff. In 1792, the state gave her £34 and praised her highly for her heroism. Betsy Ross, whose first husband, a soldier in the Pennsylvania militia, lost his life in 1776, was commissioned to design a national flag. On June 14, 1777, Congress accepted her stars and stripes as the banner of the new republic.

RAISING MONEY: At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the colonies lacked even the money needed to raise, pay, equip, and provision an army. In April, 1775, the very month the embattled farmers were firing the shots "heard round the world," total currency available in America was not sufficient to meet the requirements of even peacetime business—about $22,000,000 in paper and from $6,000,000 to $12,000,000 in specie. An economic recession, which accompanied the outbreak of the war, made impossible the obtaining of domestic loans and made more difficult the raising of money through taxation. The only choice opened to the revolutionary leadership was to capitalize upon the one big asset it had—the hope of winning the war.

From June, 1775, to November, 1779, the Continental Congress utilized this hope by issuing a little more than $190,000,000 in paper currency. The emission of so large an amount of money was necessary because the states failed to obtain through taxation the necessary revenue to redeem the currency issued. Besides this Continental paper, the states printed bills to the amount of $250,000,000. Since the supply of gold and silver could not be increased, the paper money in circulation began to depreciate in value.

After 1779 Congress decided to withdraw the promissory notes it had issued. All states were ordered to collect taxes and redeem the outstanding bills at the rate of one silver dollar to forty paper dollars. In this way $120,000,000 worth of Continental currency was retired. About $70,000,000 still continued to circulate; by 1781 these notes were practically valueless. Despite this, speculators bought up as much of the bills as they could lay their hands on in anticipation of their eventual redemption by Congress at face value. In the meantime, the states began to withdraw their own paper currency. After 1780, they used the bills which they had issued as tax money to be paid at various rates of depreciation.

The issuance of Continental and state notes tended to increase and perpetuate the indebtedness of the masses. Depreciation led to inflationary prices. Since more money was needed in the purchase of commodities, the bills were quickly used up. Accordingly, debtors had nothing left with which to fulfill their obligations. At the same time, poorly paid soldiers were forced to borrow money to keep their farms running during their absence. Instead of taking care of the interests of these soldiers, the states looked after the welfare of rich creditors. Acts were passed providing that past debts be paid in paper money equal in silver value to that originally received. Thus, if in 1776 $100 in paper was borrowed and that sum was worth $100 in silver, the debtor, if he was to repay the obligation in 1781 had to return $10,000 in bills because by that time $1 in silver was able to command $100 in paper. Further, to safeguard the interests of creditors, every state in the union had repealed its legal tender laws by 1783.

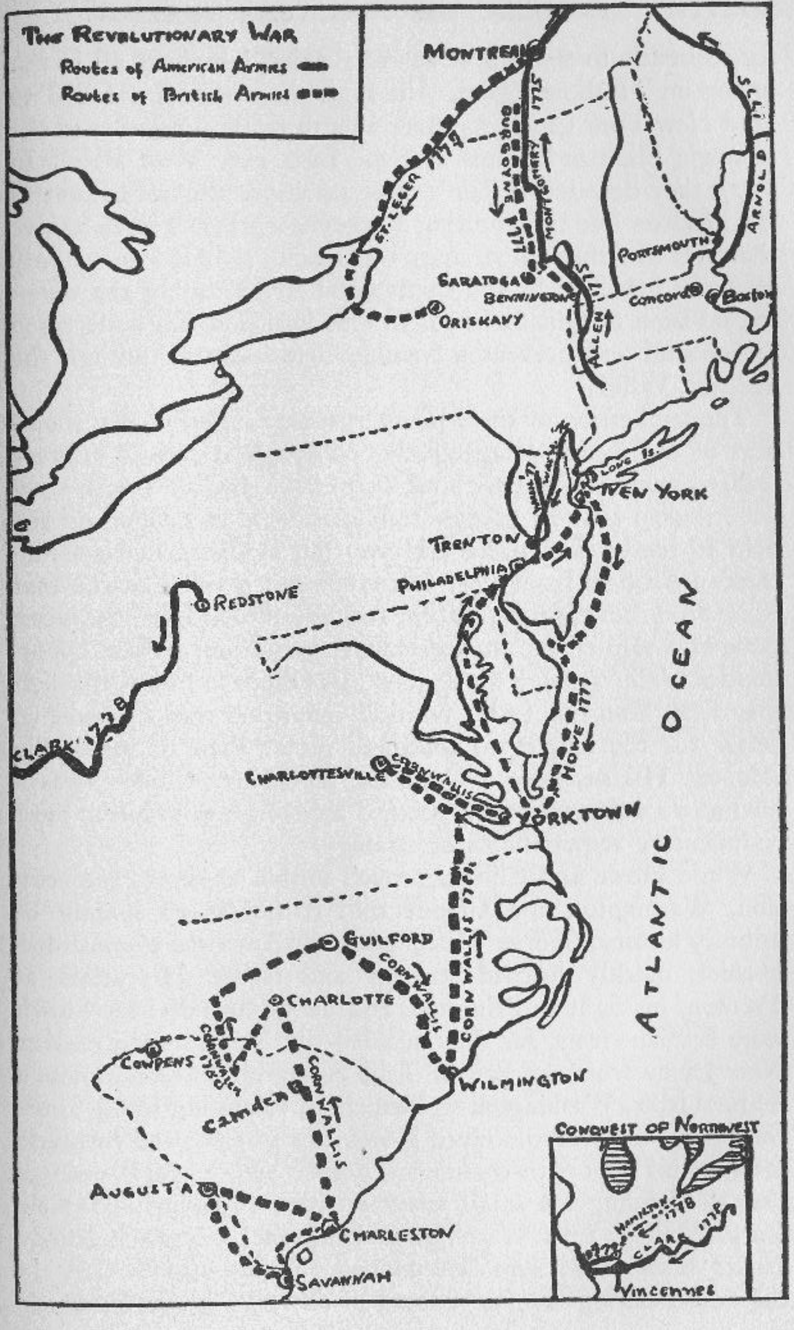
The American war of liberation was also financed through the sale of long-term securities. The latter, which were similar to government bonds, were disposed of among individuals, about $63,000,000 worth being sold by Congress after 1777.

Considerable sums were advanced to the government by a number of Jewish merchants—the most celebrated of whom was Haym Salomon, friend of Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance. An ardent Patriot and Son of Liberty, Salomon loaned the government during the war about $650,000, $210,000 of which was in specie. In addition, the Jewish financier advanced $20,000 to pay the salaries of men holding public office or fighting on the battlefield. Among those receiving such loans were James Madison, Edmund Randolph, Baron von Steuben, James Wilson, and General Mifflin. Madison often wrote of the "kindness of our little friend in Front Street" who refused "all recompense" because the "price of money is so usurious, that he thinks it ought to be extorted from none but those that aim at a profitable speculation."[6] The unselfish devotion of Salomon to the Patriot cause is well evidenced by the fact that when he died in 1785, he left his family practically penniless, the government still owing his estate as much as $350,000.

The interest on long-term securities issued by Congress was largely paid by money raised abroad. From 1777 to 1784 France provided over $6,000,000 to the new republic. In addition, private European bankers advanced money to the American cause; in 1782 and 1783, Dutch financiers alone contributed as much as $1,300,000.

FIGHTING THE WAR: FIRST STAGE, 1775 TO 1778: While the revolutionary party was raising money and forging a people's army, a war was being fought. The British strategic plan revolved about the idea of suppressing the "rebellion" as quickly as possible. It called for holding New York City and the line of the Hudson Valley to Canada, a plan designed to isolate New England from the rest of the colonies. South of New York, British strategy demanded control of the Chesapeake area with such strong points as Alexandria, Annapolis, and possibly the lower Susquehanna River. In this way, the middle Atlantic states would be separated from the southern. During the war, the British failed to obtain control of the vital Hudson line although they were able to take New York City. Their failure in the Hudson Valley prevented them from establishing themselves in the Chesapeake Bay region.

The American strategic plan was simplicity itself. It called


The Revolutionary War
Routes of American Armies
Routes of British Armies
Montreal
Burgoyne 1777
Montgomery 1775
1775
St. Leger 1777
Arnold 1775
Portsmouth
Saratoga
Bennington
Allen 1775
Concord
Boston
Oriskany
Long Is.
New York
Trenton
Philadelphia
Redstone
Clark 1778
Howe 1777
Ocean
Charlottesville
Cornwallis
Yorktown
Atlantic
Guilford
Cornwallis
Charlotte
Cornwallis 1781
Cowpens
Camden
Cornwallis
Wilmington
Augusta
Charleston
Savannah
Conquest of Northwest
Hamilton 1778
Clark 1778
Vincennes

for resistance to the British at every point, but above all in the important Hudson region. Although the Americans failed to hold New York City, they were able to retain possession of the strategic Highland passes and the forts near West Point. In 1777, they defeated Britain's most ambitious attempt to control the Hudson line by capturing Burgoyne's army. The defensive character of American strategy was clearly reflected in the only offensive launched by the Continental Army during the war—the invasion of Canada in 1775. This incursion was undertaken to forestall and prevent a possible British attack through the Hudson Valley.

The application of these plans naturally rested on the shoulders of the commanding officers. Although American military leaders were less experienced than their British rivals, they nevertheless showed greater resourcefulness and vigor on the field of battle. Sir William Howe, the British commander-in-chief in America from 1775 to 1778, was a good tactician—that is, he knew how to fight battles. But he suffered from the worst fault of a soldier—he moved slowly, permitting golden opportunities to slip through his fingers. His failure to follow through may have been due to his political conviction that it would be better for the empire to conciliate rather than to coerce the colonies. His successor in America, Sir Henry Clinton, was a mediocre soldier who never seemed able to grasp even the most rudimentary requirements of strategy.

While Howe and Clinton proved unable to rise to the occasion, Washington and Greene did. Although no student of military history, George Washington, the American commander-in-chief, quickly learned strategy and tactics. His attack at Trenton, his fight at Princeton, and his capture of Morristown were brilliant feats, for they enabled the Americans to recover New Jersey from the British. Like Stonewall Jackson almost a century later, Washington was expert in mustering small forces for daring and well-conceived blows. His patience and fortitude inspired his men with confidence, despite such tactical lapses as that of dividing his small army between Brooklyn and New York in 1776. Like Washington, Nathanael Greene, a Rhode Island blacksmith, who commanded the American armies in the South during the later stages of the war, learned strategy and tactics not from books but by fighting. From a purely strategic point of view, his campaign in the Carolinas was the most distinguished operation of the whole war. By dividing his forces at just the right time, Greene drew Cornwallis away from his base of supply, and although the British general scored tactical triumphs, he accomplished little. On the contrary, before the campaign was over, the British were forced to give up all of the Carolinas and Georgia except Charleston. Greene's brilliant campaign paved the way for the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

During the first three years of the war (1775-77 inclusive), military operations were confined to the North, with the Hudson Valley line the great bone of contention. After the battles of Lexington and Concord, the war in New England revolved about the siege of Boston. Here, in June, 1775, a British army of about 10,000 men was bottled up by the American occupation of the approaches to the city. Appreciating the fact that Washington was in a position to bombard Boston, Gage and his fellow officers decided to break the encirclement by taking the offensive. Their decision resulted in the never-to-be-forgotten battle of Breed's or Bunker Hill. Although the Americans stood their ground heroically, they were eventually forced to retire because they lacked ammunition. Yet, before the Americans withdrew, the British lost about 1,000 out of 2,500 men. After the battle of Bunker Hill, the British position gradually became untenable and so, in March, 1776, Boston was evacuated, the British leaving behind them more than 200 pieces of cannon, tons of powder and lead, thousands of guns and all kinds of military stores, despite the fact that they had plenty of time to destroy this matériel.

While some Americans were besieging Boston, others were trying to take Canada. The purpose behind this move was twofold: to prevent the British from using Montreal and Quebec as bases to capture the Hudson Valley line and to add another colony to the anti-British front. The Canadian campaign started with the capture of Fort Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen and of Crown Point by Benedict Arnold. About six months later (November, 1775), the Americans under General Montgomery, following the traditional Lake Champlain route into Canada, took Montreal. About the same time, Arnold, having led his forces across the Maine wilderness, arrived before Quebec. In December, he and Montgomery joined forces and launched an attack against the city. Montgomery lost his life during the action but the American army now under Arnold continued to besiege the town. The arrival of a British fleet, however, combined with an epidemic of smallpox forced the Americans to withdraw. By June, 1776, Canada was evacuated.

If the campaign had thus failed to prevent the British from using Montreal and Quebec as bases for future operations, it nevertheless succeeded in forestalling a two-front British drive on the Hudson line, one starting out from Canada and the other from New York City. That the British had some such idea in mind was evidenced by their all-out effort to capture New York in 1776. In July of that year, only one month after the Americans evacuated Canada, Howe took Staten Island. Washington, anticipating such a move, transferred his forces from Boston to Brooklyn Heights, which dominated lower Manhattan. Howe moved his men to Long Island, met the Americans at Brooklyn Heights and defeated them. Washington was then compelled to withdraw the remnants of his army to Manhattan where he established himself along the line of the Harlem River. In September, Howe took New York. However, the seizure of the city meant little so long as the Americans held Fort Washington at the northern tip of Manhattan, Fort Lee across the Hudson in New Jersey, and the southern part of Westchester County. Howe won a hard-fought battle at White Plains and then took Fort Lee. Washington was forced to retreat rapidly across New Jersey. In December, 1776, Howe's army took Trenton, Washington just managing to escape to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River where he was joined by mechanics and workingmen from Philadelphia. To make matters worse, an American army under General Lee surrendered to the British.

Just when the situation seemed hopeless, Washington took the initiative. On Christmas night, December 25, 1776, he recrossed the Delaware, surprised the British army at Trenton and captured a thousand Hessians. He followed this up by defeating the British at Princeton in January, 1777, and by

establishing winter quarters at Morristown. These brilliant tactical and strategic moves forced Howe to retreat to Burlington.

Early in 1777, the British, with New York as their southern base and Canada as their northern, decided to isolate New England by taking the Hudson Valley line. According to their plan, three British columns were to converge on Albany: one, under General Burgoyne, was to proceed from Canada by way of Lake Champlain, a second, under Lieutenant-Colonel Barry St. Leger, was to go by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk River, and the third, under General Clinton, was to start from New York City and move up the Hudson. From a strategic viewpoint the plan was poorly conceived. In the first place, the use of three converging columns gave the Americans an opportunity to unite their forces and pick off the enemy one by one. Secondly, two of the columns, being based on Canada, were bound to be weakened by their extended lines of communication and supply. Besides, the further they went the more fatigued they would be. The Americans, on the other hand, enjoyed the advantage of operating in a small area along "interior lines."

The British plan to capture the Hudson Valley was also badly executed. Burgoyne started his campaign without troubling to wait for St. Leger or Clinton to advance. Clinton remained in New York and requested Howe to send him reinforcements before he proceeded to move up the Hudson. Howe was too busy trying to make Washington fight and as a result neglected to fulfill Clinton's request. In the absence of a unified command the chances of a successful three-pronged offensive were small.

In June, 1777, Burgoyne set out from Canada. The following month he took Fort Ticonderoga and then advanced to Skenesborough which was only twenty miles from the Hudson. General Schuyler, the American commander, then organized a series of delaying actions which kept Burgoyne so busy that it took him three weeks to capture Fort Edward. Finding his supplies running out, Burgoyne sent a force to Bennington, Vermont, to seize the American matériel stored there. John Stark, who had fought at Bunker Hill and was one of the ablest officers in the American army, rallied the farmers of the countryside and decisively defeated the British raiding party. Burgoyne was stranded.

In the meantime, St. Leger's motley army of British regulars, Tory sympathizers, and native Indians was defeated by the German-American settlers who inhabited the Mohawk country and who were led by Nicholas Herkimer. At Oriskany, a hand-to-hand battle took place, "one of the most desperate and bloody in all our annals," according to one military analyst.[7] After the battle, a rumor was spread among the Indians that Burgoyne had surrendered. Without more ado, the natives turned upon their British "allies" and plundered them. St. Leger then withdrew beyond Oswego to the safety of Canada.

While St. Leger was being beaten and Burgoyne was running out of supplies, Clinton finally decided to proceed up the Hudson. By the time the British reached Kingston, sixty miles from Albany, Burgoyne was facing disaster. Stark's victory at Bennington had roused the New England farmers to action. Leaving their homesteads in the care of their women folk, they rushed toward Saratoga—to which Burgoyne had retreated—and guided by a new commander, General Horatio Gates, surrounded the town. Outnumbered four to one and cut off from all supplies, "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne surrendered on October 14, 1777. His army of about 5,000 was permitted to return to Britain on condition that it promise not to fight again. This victory was very important: it meant the end of all British efforts to take the Hudson Valley line without which they could not win the war, and it directly prepared the way for the entrance of France into the conflict as an ally of the United States.

AID FROM ABROAD: From the outset, revolutionary leaders in America realized that to win the war they needed support from abroad. They were keenly aware of the antagonisms that existed among the European powers—of the rivalry between France and Britain in the West Indies, of the French desire to regain her "lost provinces" in North America, of the Spanish longing to recover British-held Gibraltar, Minorca, and Florida, and of the world-wide Anglo-Dutch commercial competition. Like realistic revolutionaries, they played upon these conflicts to advance the cause they were willing to die for. Despite their "anti-papist" leanings and ingrained progressivism, they did

not hesitate to make a treaty of alliance with Catholic and Bourbon France since they knew that such a compact would mean eventual victory for the Revolution. They were not doctrinaire leftists whose sense of reality was warped by a set of fixed rules and inflexible tactics, but men of practical affairs.

The American revolutionaries tried to obtain the intervention of as many European powers as possible. They especially desired the aid of France whose diplomatic position in the Old World could be used as a lever to bring other nations into the war against England. As early as March, 1776, they sent Silas Deane to France, and in September, after the Declaration of Independence, they appointed two special envoys to assist Deane and secure formal recognition and a treaty of commerce. The importance of the mission was underlined by the character and stature of the men appointed—the renowned and venerable Dr. Benjamin Franklin, darling of the French *philosophes* and the young but extremely talented Thomas Jefferson, author of the great manifesto of '76. Unfortunately, the Virginian was unable to leave America and his place was taken by Arthur Lee then in London. In return for French recognition of American independence and a trade treaty the envoys were instructed to offer France the commerce of the United States and help in conquering the British West Indies.

In December, 1776, Franklin arrived in Paris. A man of understanding and tact, he caught the fancy of all. His emphasis upon the bourgeois virtues of thrift and industry endeared him to the heart of the French middle class. His standing as a man of letters and science made him the toast of the French Encyclopedists. His simple style of living attracted the favorable attention of the "Rousseauists."* His determination to defeat England at all costs struck a responsive chord among high French officials who still rankled under "the humiliation of '63."†

Yet, despite Franklin's great popularity, several influences made the accomplishment of his mission difficult. In the first place, the French monarchy was on the verge of bankruptcy. Since a war with Britain would be costly, it was argued that France would face financial ruin. Secondly, the British occupation of New York in 1776 and of Philadelphia in 1777 made many influential Frenchmen dubious about the value of the Americans as fighting allies. Thirdly, the French government feared that if it encouraged the American colonies in their "rebellious" stand against the mother country, it might stimulate a revolutionary movement at home. Signs of restlessness within France were not lacking. Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and others were destroying the philosophical justification for ecclesiastical and political tyranny, much to the satisfaction of the radical intelligentsia. Demonstrations by hungry workingmen in the cities and hard-pressed peasants in the country were not uncommon and the fear of additional tax burdens filled the discontented middle classes with concern. Under the circumstances, encouragement of revolution in America might reap the whirlwind in France. Yet, despite the dangers involved, hatred of "perfidious Albion" and the prospect of recouping a lost empire were so widespread among high-ranking Frenchmen that caution was thrown to the winds.

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* Followers of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), who lashed out against the hypocrisy of eighteenth-century living and advocated a return to "the state of Nature."

† The Treaty of Paris of 1763.

Thus, during the early stages of the war, France extended aid to the Americans under cover of a policy of nonintervention. Although openly proclaiming her neutrality, she secretly supplied the colonies with war materials. By October, 1776, Deane had obtained clothing for 20,000 men, arms for 30,000 and large supplies of ammunition. In addition, American privateers were being fitted out in French ports, bands of volunteers were being sent to the colonies, and American warships were being built at French dockyards under the supervision of French naval officers.

While this assistance was being given to the "rebels" on the other side of the Atlantic, powerful forces in France were working for an open alliance with America. These forces were represented in the government by the Comte de Vergennes, an implacable foe of Britain, and at the Court by the versatile Beaumarchais, a wealthy merchant and brilliant man of letters. Neither Vergennes nor Beaumarchais ever let slip an opportunity of telling Louis XVI that unless France allied herself with the United States she would lose her valuable Caribbean possessions. To them it was clear that if Britain lost her colonies, she would compensate herself by seizing the French West Indies. They also held out the possibility that Britain might conciliate the provinces by taking over Martinique and Guadeloupe and opening them to American commerce. These arguments were reinforced by the hope that if the United States won its independence, the British Empire would crumble like a rope of sand and French merchants would be given a monopoly of the American market. The only thing these pro-American Frenchmen needed was proof that the Americans had a chance to win the war. And that came when Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga in October, 1777. Four months later, Bourbon France entered into an alliance with republican America. The treaty provided for the recognition of American independence, promised military aid to the new nation, and pledged each country not to make peace with Britain unless the other approved.

As an ally of the United States, France used her pre-eminent position on the European continent to build up a strong anti-British coalition. First she approached Spain, an old enemy of England. But the Spanish ruling classes, despite their desire to regain Gibraltar, Minorca, and Florida, hesitated to enter the conflict because they feared that a successful American revolt might be accompanied by similar uprisings in Spanish America and that the creation of a powerful nation on the North American mainland might lead through westward expansion to encroachment upon Spanish-held Louisiana and Mexico. However, Spain entered the war on the side of France in 1779 when Foreign Minister Vergennes promised her all of the trans-Allegheny West, the restoration of Gibraltar and the exclusive right to navigate the Mississippi River.

The Franco-Spanish alliance of 1779 led Britain to stop and search neutral vessels on the high seas for contraband. This action was immediately protested by Prussia, which used its influence with Russia to form the League of Armed Neutrality in 1780, an association eventually to include Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and the Holy Roman Empire. It advanced the principle that neutral ships carried neutral goods and so were not to be stopped or searched. In 1780, Britain declared war on the Netherlands, a member of the League, on the ground that it was negotiating a treaty of alliance with the United States. This was a convenient pretext to cover up British fear of the Netherland's growing commerce. As the principal shippers of Europe, the Dutch took over France's foreign trade and extended their own business with the United States through their West Indian island of St. Eustatius. Moreover, they permitted American privateers to use Dutch ports for marauding expeditions.

Thus, by 1780, the Anglo-American conflict was transformed into a general European war involving questions of territorial and commercial aggrandizement. The Americans who were not interested in either of these imperialistic concerns continued to fight their own battle for national liberation. Their chances of securing their freedom were extremely bright in 1780 because of the diplomatic isolation of Britain. Circumstances together with revolutionary strategy and tenacity had produced conditions favorable to American success.

The leaders of the American Revolution attempted to secure private as well as public aid from abroad. Naturally they appealed for assistance to European radicals. Sometimes they did this through personal correspondence; not infrequently they employed official utterances, such as the address which the Continental Congress drew up to the people of Ireland. In their appeals they stressed the connection between their own struggle for freedom and that going on in Europe. Furthermore, they never missed an opportunity of furthering radical agitation abroad.

The American Revolution caught the imagination and stirred the enthusiasm of a large body of Europeans who made their way across the Atlantic to serve in the Continental Army. Among these ardent supporters of liberty were the Marquis de Lafayette and the Marquis de la Rouerie of France and Count Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko of Poland. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Lafayette was only nineteen. "When I first learnt the subject of this quarrel," he later wrote in his memoirs, "my heart espoused warmly the cause of liberty, and I thought of nothing but of adding also the aid of my banner." [8] He fitted out a ship at his own expense, loaded it with military supplies, and came to America with about a dozen officers, in spite of the fact that the French government forbade his departure. He joined Washington's army, became a major general, fought without pay, and won the respect of the Americans. Like Lafayette, Rouerie was a wealthy young nobleman much affected by what was happening in America. He came here, renounced his title, and spent a fortune equipping cavalry troops. The devotion of these two Frenchmen to the American cause was matched by that of two Polish patriots—Pulaski and Kosciusko. The former was forced to flee his native land during the early 1770's after fighting to free it from foreign domination. When the American Revolution broke out, Pulaski was in Paris. With the assistance of Deane and Franklin, he sailed for America where he was commissioned as an officer in the Continental Army. At the battle of Savannah, he lost his life. His countryman, Thaddeus Kosciusko, an impoverished member of the small Polish gentry, borrowed money to cross the Atlantic to fight on the side of liberty-loving Americans. He became a colonel of engineers and contributed to the Patriot victory at Saratoga. Later, he served as a cavalry officer and at the end of the war was made a brigadier-general. In 1794 he played a prominent role in the Polish war of liberation, and was captured by the Russians. Eventually he returned to America to continue his work for Polish independence.

Professional soldiers also served the American cause. Baron Johann de Kalb rose to the rank of major-general and was wounded eleven times at the battle of Camden. His compatriot, Baron Frederick von Steuben, did yeoman work drilling Washington's inexperienced troops. Made inspector general of the Continental Army, he drew up "Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States" (1779). So highly did Congress appreciate Steuben's services that at the close of the war he was given a gold-hilted sword and $24,000. The last years of his life were passed at Steubenville, New York, where he died in 1794.

Freedom-loving Europeans found other ways of expressing their solidarity with America. In 1776, Irish radicals circulated a petition signed by three thousand people "not one of [whom] disapprove of the sentiments contained in [Paine's] *Common*

Sense."[9] During the war, Irish seaports were opened to American privateers and the flag of the new republic flew on the Irish coast from Londonderry to Cork. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown inspired the Yankee Club of Stewartstown, County Tyrone, Ireland, to send Washington a letter of congratulations.

WINNING THE WAR, 1778-81: Aid from abroad tipped the scales in favor of the American cause. The entrance of France and Spain into the war forced Britain to shift the greater part of her fleet from America to the Mediterranean, Africa, India, and the Caribbean. The transfer of such naval strength not only tended to weaken the effectiveness of the British blockade in American waters but also rendered more difficult the movement of troops up and down the American coast.

Steady deterioration of the British military position in America after 1778 was reflected in the complete abandonment of the English strategic plan of capturing the Hudson Valley line. New York City became merely a base from which raiding expeditions were sent to spread terror along the coast of New England and Delaware Bay. Toward the close of 1778 a British army was dispatched to Georgia and the town of Savannah captured. After the British had consolidated their position, they invaded South Carolina and laid siege to Charleston.

While the Americans were losing part of the deep South, they were gaining an empire in the West. George Rogers Clark, a young Virginia surveyor and pioneer farmer, obtained permission from Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia to organize an expedition into the Illinois country. He raised a small force, crossed the wilderness north of the Ohio River, and took Vincennes in 1778. Before he could make his next move, the British, aided by a war party of Indians, recaptured the town. Clark, who was not in Vincennes at the time, raised another band of frontiersmen, marched 230 miles in the dead of winter and retook Vincennes in February, 1779.

While Clark was keeping the enemy occupied in the country across the mountains, the British were advancing in the Carolinas. In the fall of 1779, Clinton came from New York with a force of 7,000 and landed in the vicinity of Charleston. The following May, the Americans inside the beleaguered town surrendered, and Clinton, leaving Cornwallis in charge, returned to New York to defend that city against Washington. Cornwallis moved northward and decisively defeated the Americans under Gates at Camden (August, 1780).

Meanwhile, those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British in the Carolinas retreated to the swamps and mountains of the hinterland where they organized themselves into partisan groups under such leaders as Marion, Sumter, Pickens, and Williams. In small bands of from twenty to a hundred men, they would sally forth and attack British outposts. After accomplishing their mission, they would return to their base, ready and eager for other sorties. The British, unaccustomed to such warfare, became terror stricken and not infrequently withdrew from particular localities at the mere mention of the name of Marion and his men. The Carolina guerrillas even engaged in pitched battles. In October, 1780, they defeated the British under Ferguson at King's Mountain, and in the following month took the measure of Tarleton's Tory Legion at Blackstock Hill. Activities like those of the Carolina partisans of 1780 were repeated later on by Russians and Germans during the Napoleonic wars, still later by the subject peoples of Europe in their struggle against fascist tyranny.

The successes registered by the Carolina guerrillas were very helpful to General Nathanael Greene, the new commander of the American army in the South, in his efforts to force the British to fall back upon Charleston. Meanwhile, Cornwallis, who had gone to Wilmington, North Carolina, after the battle of Camden, decided to invade Virginia, a state which had to be conquered if the British were to hold the lower South.

The invasion of Virginia by Cornwallis proved to be the last major offensive undertaken by the British. At the beginning of the campaign, Cornwallis had everything his own way. Despite the heroic resistance of a small American army led by Lafayette, the British general was able to ravage the Tidewater at will. Finally, in August, 1781, Cornwallis took up a position at Yorktown. This was what the French and Americans had been waiting for. A French naval force under de Grasse headed for Chesapeake Bay, while Washington and Rochambeau slipped out from under the very nose of the mediocre Clinton and joined Lafayette at Yorktown. Outnumbered three to one on land and cut off from fresh supplies by sea, Cornwallis found his position untenable and in October, 1781, surrendered his army of 7,000 men. The American War of Liberation was over.

PEACE-MAKING, 1783: The conflict just concluded differed in at least two respects from other imperial wars fought by England. In the past Britain had been able to secure allies in her struggles for colonial and commercial supremacy. However, in 1775-81, Americans used Britain's old strategy of the balance of power to form a grand coalition against her. Thus, for once it was England and not her enemy who was stripped of allies. Moreover, during the Revolutionary War, the British nation did not present a united front against America as it had done in the earlier struggles against Spain, the Netherlands, and France. Throughout the conflict, there was a considerable body of opinion in England opposed to the American war. To British progressives the struggle the Americans were engaged in was part of their own fight for freedom. They viewed with alarm the personal government that George III was building up in England through bribery and patronage. Most of them were quite willing to see the Untied States free and independent and thus went beyond the position taken by the main body of Whigs in Parliament. This group, led by Chatham and Shelburne, championed the cause of mercantilism as ardently as the North government and advocated a policy of conciliation in the hope of restoring the empire. As the war went against England, they gradually realized that such a policy was impossible of achievement. Therefore, when they came to power in 1782, they initiated peace negotiations with America on the basis of independence, and for this they were supported by most British merchants.

The mercantile elements in Britain wanted peace in 1782 for at least two reasons. First, an increasingly large section of the British merchant class feared that unless the war were stopped, the empire itself might fall. France, the Netherlands, and Spain, three powerful and deadly rivals, were allied against England, while the rest of Europe was organized into a nonbelligerent but none the less anti-British coalition called the League of the Armed Neutrality. Thus, an English defeat and with it the breakup of the empire were within the realm of possibility. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown merely added to the consternation of the already frightened English bourgeoisie. Secondly, British mercantile interests wanted peace in 1782 to protect their investments in government securities. The war was costing £12,000,000 annually and being financed largely through borrowing. By 1782 the feeling was general that the national debt was getting out of hand as British credit facilities showed signs of drying up. To aggravate matters, English shipping was suffering severe losses, particularly after the entrance of the Netherlands into the war. Thus, British merchants, desiring to see their trade restored and their government investments safeguarded, demanded the cessation of hostilities.

So, in February, 1782, the House of Commons voted to end the war. Lord North stepped down and the Whigs under Rockingham took over. When the new Prime Minister died shortly afterwards, his place was taken by Shelburne. Meanwhile, peace negotiations were being conducted with Franklin, Jay, Laurens and John Adams who represented the United States. The American envoys demanded all the land east of the Mississippi including Florida, reparations for the destruction of American property, and the free navigation of the Mississippi River. Spain, which was conducting separate negotiations, asked for all of the land south of the Ohio River including Florida and the sole right to navigate the Mississippi. France appeared to back the demand of the Spanish ally, much to the disgust of the Americans. British negotiators, for their part, made it clear that England did not intend to give up Canada, that British creditors must be paid for debts contracted by Americans prior to 1775, and that the United States should compensate Tories for the loss and destruction of their property.

The American delegates, convinced that France and Spain were acting in concert against their country, decided to negotiate a separate treaty. The English, who feared the imperial ambitions of both France and Spain, readily agreed. Accordingly, a separate compact was concluded between England and her former colonies. Similarly, Britain made separate treaties with France and Spain.

The Treaty of Paris (1783) provided for the formal recognition of American independence, the acquisition by the United States of all of the land east of the Mississippi except Florida, fishing privileges off the Newfoundland coast, a Congressional recommendation to the states to restore confiscated Tory property and the payment of "all *bona fide* debts hereto contracted." Spain acquired Florida and Minorca. Thus, in 1783, the American Republic, born of revolution, took her place among the nations of the world.

REVOLUTION IN AMERICA

SUPPRESSING THE TORIES: The struggle for liberation against the mother country was accompanied by civil war in America. Throughout the thirteen states a bitter conflict raged between pro and anti-British elements. In New York Patriots risked their lives while traveling through Westchester County. In some parts of Massachusetts Tories painted their chimneys with black bands to identify themselves. In the Carolinas brothers fought brothers and whole families were exterminated by internecine strife.

The Tories, who were drawn principally from the "better" classes, were very active politically. They made themselves so obnoxious that they were regarded as social lepers fit only to be hanged. According to one contemporary definition, "A Tory is a thing whose head is in England, and its body in America, and its neck ought to be stretched."[10]

The bitter animosity felt by patriotic Americans toward the fifth column of their day grew out of the counter-revolutionary activities engaged in by the Tories. As spies, they furnished the British with valuable information on the size and disposition of the American army, while as agent provocateurs they entered the Patriot party with the intention of splitting it up into warring factions. Moreover, they organized their own military units which enlisted the support of Indians to ravage the southern frontier in 1776 and 1777 and northern Pennsylvania in 1778. They marched under Benedict Arnold, the blackest renegade of the Revolution, to plunder and burn Patriot holdings in Virginia.

The Patriots took stern measures to suppress counter-revolutionary Toryism. In the first place, Tories were deprived of all political and civil rights. In every state the franchise was limited to those of Patriot sympathies. If Tories voted in spite of this prohibition, they could be prosecuted and heavily fined or imprisoned. Furthermore, they could not legally collect debts, act as guardians, or serve on juries. In New York and New Jersey no Tory lawyer could plead a case in the courts, while in Pennsylvania no Tory druggist could practice his profession. Some of the more outspoken Tories were forced to pay double and triple taxes and to sell their goods in depreciated paper money and buy things they needed in specie. Whenever a British army threatened a Patriot community, pro-British elements were rounded up and arrested. In the early part of the war, New York and New Jersey sent many of their most dangerous Tories to Connecticut. Somewhat later, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety ordered the arrest of two hundred counter-revolutionaries in Philadelphia and shipped them to North Carolina.

As civil strife intensified, Patriot measures grew more drastic. Blacklists were drawn up containing the names of those charged with high treason. In Pennsylvania some 490 persons were included on such a list. Some of them were banished and a few hanged. Among the latter were two Philadelphia Tories who were executed, in spite of clemency pleas. Joseph Reed, a leading member of the Continental Congress, expressed the sentiments of his fellow-patriots in Pennsylvania when he said that he had no patience with people who maintained that "treason, disaffection to the interests of America, and even assistance to the British interest" were to be looked upon as "error of judgment which candour and liberality [could] overlook...."[11]

In addition to being imprisoned and executed, Tory sympathizers had their estates confiscated. The hatred of small farmers, exposed to the rapacity of large landlords, combined with the desire of the Patriot bourgeoisie to acquire holdings for speculative purposes, lent zeal to attacks on "loyalist" property. In 1778 Congress recommended to the states the seizure and sale of Tory holdings. Before the treaty of peace was signed, every state in the union had acted favorably upon this recommendation. In New York, some $3,600,000 worth of Tory property was seized. In New Hampshire twenty-eight estates were confiscated including the proprietary holdings of Sir John Wentworth; and in Pennsylvania the lands held by the Penn family, valued at nearly £1,000,000 sterling. Confiscated estates were sometimes paid for in certificates issued by an official of the Revolutionary government to those loaning money to the state, a plan similar to that adopted at the time of the French Revolution when expropriated ecclesiastical holdings were pledged to redeem the paper money issued.

Thus, counter-revolutionary Toryism was stamped out by drastic punitive action. Under the impact of the measures adopted, tens of thousands of Tories fled from the wrath of their fellow Americans. Probably as many as sixty thousand left for England, Canada, and the West Indies.

STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL: BIG BOURGEOISIE *vs.* BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRACY: While the revolutionary party was crushing Tory reaction inside America, it was splitting into two contending camps. One was made up of the big bourgeoisie—men of large property who derived their income from the labor of workingmen, servants, and slaves. Representing this group were such substantial landowners as Benjamin Harrison, Richard Bland, and George Washington of Virginia, Charles Pinckney and Henry Middleton of South Carolina, Charles Carroll and Thomas Johnson of Maryland, Robert R. Livingston and Gouverneur Morris of New York and such rich merchants as James Bowdoin of Massachusetts, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, the Browns of Rhode Island, Robert Morris of Pennsylvania and Henry Laurens of South Carolina. Allied to these men of large property were rising lawyers, such as Alexander Hamilton and John Jay of New York, John Dickinson and James Wilson of Pennsylvania, and John Adams of Massachusetts.

Large-scale planters and merchants, who made up the bulk of the Patriot bourgeoisie, had little faith in the masses. In their eyes the people were lazy, greedy and violent, "a great beast" to be curbed so that decency and culture could prevail. Schools existed to inculcate habits of work and thrift, while tax-supported churches were there to teach a proper respect for authority and property. Governments were to be strong enough to safeguard the "rich and the well-born" from the "excesses of the Mobocracy." On the whole, the mercantile bourgeoisie wanted a centralized government to replace that which Britain had attempted to establish. This government was to have the power to regulate trade, control disputes among states, and take coercive action against internal insurrections. They favored the establishment of state governments pledged to the principle of a restricted suffrage, the supremacy of the executive, judicial, and upper legislative chamber over the popularly elected house, and the underrepresentation of the frontier in the assembly. To raise enough money to support a strong army and church, they proposed that taxes be levied on all equally. In this way they hoped to decrease their own tax burdens.

Diametrically opposed to the big bourgeoisie was the bourgeois-democratic wing of the Patriot party. It included the mass of the small farmers and frontiersmen led by such men as Israel Putnam of Connecticut, John Stark of New Hampshire, Ethan Allen of Vermont, and Francis Marion of South Carolina. Allied with the yeomanry were the small shopkeepers, mechanics, and workers of the cities headed by Samuel Adams of Massachusetts and Thomas Paine of Pennsylvania. Of these two elements the main strength of the bourgeois-democracy came from the small farmers. The city tradesmen, artisans, and wage earners (the first two property holders and the last hoping to become so) were relegated to a subordinate position in the revolutionary movement after 1775. In the existing economy of the time, with its predominantly agricultural base and merchant capitalist orientation, these groupings held a place of comparatively minor economic importance. They were also numerically insignificant in comparison with the farm population in particular. And since no organized proletarian movement existed at the time, they had to follow in the wake of the agrarian elements. In addition to the mass of small property owners and expectant property owners, the bourgeois-democracy included the free trade section of the merchant class—Hancock and Gerry of Massachusetts, Lamb and Sears of New York, Hopkins of Rhode Island and Gadsden of South Carolina—and the radical wing of the planter class—Thomas Jefferson and George Mason of Virginia.

Among the leaders of the bourgeois-democracy three stood head and shoulders above the rest—Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams and Benjamin Franklin—all able theoreticians, well versed in the rationalistic philosophy of the Enlightenment and at the same time practical politicians, well equipped to hammer out a sound program of action. Convinced that governments had been used in the past as instruments to oppress the people, they believed that the time had come for man to develop with the minimum amount of interference. From this it followed that that government was best which governed the least. Constitutions were to be drafted conferring explicit powers upon the government while reserving all others to the people. The latter were to rule through elected assemblies, a broad franchise and the right to hold public office.

In their thinking, these bourgeois-democratic leaders looked upon man as a property holder and the ownership of property as a virtue. To them property made men better citizens because it gave them an economic stake in the nation and a respect for the rights of others. However, they considered all property beyond that which was necessary for a living and the propagation of the species as "superfluous." Such property was to be kept by the public and distributed as the welfare of the people demanded. From all this it followed that large estates should be broken up and both royal and proprietary grants sequestered by the people.

This ideology, which reflected the interests of small property owners (farmers, shopkeepers and mechanics) and would-be property holders (apprentices and workingmen), was translated into a practical program of action. Bourgeois-democrats worked for the establishment of a union whose principal function was the preservation of the independence of the several states. In each of these states, governments were to be organized which favored the dominance of elected legislatures, low property qualifications for voting or none whatever, and equal representation for all counties—eastern and western. The leaders of the bourgeois-democracy also supported the disestablishment of state churches and the end of such semi-feudal remnants as primogeniture, entail, and quitrents. In their drive to democratize the existing land system, they called for the confiscation of Crown and proprietary holdings and the break-up of expropriated Tory estates.

Since the two forces within the Revolution entertained such divergent views, they were bound to come to grips, despite their co-operation against a common foe. As British rule in America collapsed, the struggle for control began.

The attempt to create new state governments provoked a bitter fight. The leaders of the bourgeois-democracy organized their forces in the several states to see to it that liberal constitutions were drafted and democratic governments established. But the men of large property also organized with the result that most of the new state constitutions showed their influence. In only four states were the new constitutions essentially democratic; in seven others conservative influences predominated. Two states—Rhode Island and Connecticut—did not trouble to draft new constitutions: they merely kept their old colonial charters, and made whatever changes in phraseology were needed, as for example, the substitution of the word state for colony and the deletion of all references to the Crown. Having largely kept the new state constitutions from becoming too democratic, the party of big property turned its attention to securing control of the newly formed state governments. By the end of the war they dominated the scene in a number of states, despite the opposition of the radicals.

The same groups that battled each other for control within the thirteen states fought over the framing of a plan of "perpetual union." The bourgeois-democracy of '76 wanted a union mainly for the purpose of carrying on the war. It opposed the creation of a federal system that might encroach upon the sovereignty of the individual states. Only in this way, it thought, could democracy be made to work. In short, it considered confederation as a means to an end, the independence of the thirteen states. On the other hand, the big bourgeoisie wanted the establishment of a strong national government with power to safeguard and advance its special interests.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced a resolution in Congress for separation from Britain and the creation of an American union. A committee, composed of eight conservatives, two moderates, and two radicals, was appointed to draft a constitution. The committee was dominated by John Dickinson, a representative of the big bourgeoisie, and so the draft, as originally presented to Congress, embodied the views of the conservatives. The bourgeois-democracy, however, controlled Congress, and as a result, the document which was finally referred to the states in 1778 reflected the views of the radical wing of the Revolution.

The proposed Articles of Confederation, which embodied in governmental form the Declaration of Independence, left to the states their sovereignty and freedom. The central government could not make war, sign treaties, or borrow money without the consent of nine of the thirteen states. It could conduct foreign affairs but only as an agent of the states. State quotas were to be used to raise a national army. Although Congress was to serve as the ultimate court of appeal in disputes arising among the states, it would have no way of enforcing its decisions.

It took the states about three years to adopt officially the Articles of Confederation largely because of a conflict between those states that had claims to western lands and those that had not. Behind the whole struggle were rival groups of land speculators. The Articles proposed to leave the western lands in the hands of those states with charter claims. Thus Virginia would have the right to dispose of all land north of the Ohio River, a situation distinctly advantageous to promoters living in that state. On this basis, the land speculators of Maryland were at a disadvantage because their state had had its western boundary fixed in colonial times. Maryland therefore refused to ratify the Articles, and her stand was backed by the Illinois-Wabash Company. This corporation, founded in 1779 to operate north of the Ohio River, consisted of Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase of Maryland and James Wilson and Charles Ross of Pennsylvania. Since Virginia refused to recognize the right of the Illinois-Wabash Company to dispose of lands in the Ohio country, the syndicate insisted through Maryland that the Old Dominion cede her western lands to Congress. In 1780 New York gave up her claims to trans-Allegheny land in an effort to induce Virginia to do likewise. Virginia, faced in that year by a British invasion, decided to follow the lead of New York. In

this way she hoped to strengthen the position of Congress so that that body might be better able to help her against the common enemy. In 1781, Virginia renounced her claims to the land north of the Ohio River on condition that all existing Indian grants to private parties be nullified. Maryland then ratified the Articles. The Pennsylvania and Maryland speculators, however, did not give up the fight. For years they tried to get Congress to reject the Virginia cession because it was obviously directed against their claims in the Ohio country. But in the end they failed; in March, 1784, the Virginia proviso was adopted by Congress.

Although the ratification of the Articles of Confederation was a victory for the bourgeois-democrats, they made the mistake of resting on their laurels. Not so the big bourgeoisie, which was keenly aware that so long as the Articles existed, there was serious danger of ultra-democratic changes within the states. Accordingly, even before the war of liberation was over, some of the most anti-democratic leaders of the party of big property were attempting to destroy the "baseless Fabric."

In June, 1782, only a year after the formal ratification of the Articles, James Varnum, a lawyer and officer in the Rhode Island militia, sent a letter to Washington pointing out the weakness of the Confederation government. Asserting that avarice, jealousy, and luxury controlled the feelings of the citizenry, Varnum insinuated that an "absolute Monarchy, or a military State" could alone save the country "from all the Horrors of Subjugation."[12] Although Washington agreed that the conduct of the majority of the populace was alarming, he could not "consent to view" the situation as Varnum did.

About a month before this, a group of military adventurers headed by Colonel Lewis Nicola asked Washington to assume the title of king. In a letter addressed to the Virginian, Nicola openly admitted that unlike many in America he was not "a violent admirer of a republican form of government" and that he and others were ready to launch an army *putsch* to establish a monarchy. The proposal drew a stinging rebuke from Washington. In a letter to Nicola, he declared that nothing during the course of the war had given him "more painful sensations, than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army, as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity.... I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs, that can befall my Country."[13]

On the whole, the stand taken by Washington against the establishment of a monarchy in America represented the views of most of the men of big property within the Patriot party. Although unalterably opposed to the existing Confederation, they were nevertheless willing to operate within its republican framework. In so doing, they turned their backs upon monarchic counter-revolution, a testimonial to their own honesty and an indication of the breadth and depth of the Revolution of '76 in America.

DEMOCRATIZING AMERICAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY: In their struggle to control the state, the bourgeois-democratic forces registered some important gains that furthered the democratization of American life. Fundamental was the reform of the old colonial land system. With the Declaration of Independence, the states proceeded to expropriate all ungranted Crown lands. Similarly, undistributed proprietary holdings became the property of the people. In North Carolina, Lord Granville's estate, occupying about one-third of the commonwealth, was taken over, while in Virginia, Lord Fairfax's domain of more than 5,000,000 acres was confiscated. Pennsylvania gave the Penn family only £130,000 for an estate estimated to be worth one million, while Maryland voted Lord Baltimore the sum of £10,000 for his tremendous holdings. In addition to royal and proprietary lands, Tory estates were expropriated, especially after 1778. At the end of the war, some five thousand Tories asked the British government to give them ten million pounds sterling as compensation for the property they had lost in America. Britain, after reducing the claims to a minimum, awarded the dispossessed Tories about three million pounds.

Confiscation of royal, proprietary, and Tory estates made more land available for distribution. Under popular pressure, several state legislatures proclaimed their intention of granting land on an equalitarian basis. In New York efforts were made to discourage the sale of holdings in excess of five hundred acres, while in North Carolina land was sold cheaply in one-hundred-acre plots. All of the southern states, as well as New York, gave soldiers land bounties. Besides, a number of states granted squatters pre-emption rights.

Despite these liberal policies, a considerable amount of land was obtained by large-scale speculators. In some states these promoters bought up soldiers' bounties; in others, servants and overseers were used to secure pre-emption rights; and, in still others, small holdings were acquired through dummy purchases. According to one scholarly study, most Tory estates in the southern district of New York fell to wealthy merchants, landlords, army contractors, and speculators. Eventually these estates did get into the hands of artisans and farmers but only after land jobbers had extracted their pound of flesh.

These moves were accompanied by a general assault against such semi-feudal remnants as quitrents, entails, and primogeniture. As soon as the war broke out, Patriot farmers in royal and proprietary colonies stopped paying quitrents—which would have totaled about $100,000 a year. After the states expropriated Crown and proprietary holdings, they abolished these dues altogether and substituted in their place public taxes to be used for the benefit not of absentee landlords but of the citizenry itself. Similarly, an attack was made on such aristocratic survivals as primogeniture and entail. Jefferson, leading the assault in Virginia, drew up a law in 1776 transferring entail property to fee simple. By this act, at least one-half and possibly three-quarters of the settled area of Virginia was freed. Ten years later every state in the union except two had laws abolishing entails; in the two, which had none, the practice was virtually nonexistent. Meanwhile, primogeniture was being done away with, Pennsylvania and Georgia leading the way. From 1784 to 1800 all states without exception fell in line and in some form or other provided for equality of inheritance. The abolition of primogeniture removed one legal-economic basis for the development of a landed aristocracy by permitting fluidity of ownership.

The leaders of the bourgeois-democracy were on the alert to prevent the extension of semi-feudal survivals westward. One important case was the colonization of Kentucky. In 1775, Richard Henderson, a conservative whose daughter married an English lord, organized the Transylvania Company. The promoters established a settlement named Boonesville in honor of Daniel Boone, the celebrated pioneer explorer. A proprietary government was set up with the right to collect quitrents. After the battles of Lexington and Concord, the agents of the company appeared before Congress requesting that body to confirm the syndicate's land claims. Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson, objecting to the arbitrary government set-up as well as to the collection of quitrents, proposed that Virginia confiscate the lands claimed by the syndicate. In 1776, Transylvania—or as it was later called Kentucky—was made a county of Virginia, and under the revolutionary leadership of that state the rise of arbitrary government and the continuation of quitrents was ended.

The wider ownerhsip of land had a political as well as economic significance. By increasing the number of property owners and thus taxpayers, it helped broaden the franchise and thereby assisted the tendency toward radical control within the states. That tendency was promoted from another direction by the extension of the franchise. In two states the suffrage was conferred on all taxpayers, in two others it was widened to include all owners of real or personal property above a certain value and in four others special privileges were given freeholders. By the end of the Revolutionary War, taxpayers were allowed to vote in most states whether they paid taxes on real or personal property. In the others the amount required for payment was lowered. As a result, the right to vote was practically extended to all landholders in the countryside and small property owners in the towns. One North Carolina conservative mournfully observed that the suffrage had been granted "to every biped of the forest." But although more people enjoyed the franchise at the close of the Revolutionary period than before it, not everyone had the right to vote. It was not until well into the nineteenth century that universal white manhood suffrage was established in America.

Other democratic reforms were embodied in the new state constitutions. In Georgia and Pennsylvania, for instance, the new instruments established only one legislative body and so

at least in these two commonwealths there was no senate to curb the popularly elected assembly. This was not the case in other states—but neither were upper houses as aristocratic as they had been in colonial times. Property holders now at least elected their own senators. Furthermore, most of the new constitutions contained Bills of Rights. Virginia led the way in 1776 when she incorporated in her constitution an itemized list of the inherent and natural rights of man. She was followed by seven other states. So important did the democratic forces consider such a declaration that in 1778 the Massachusetts constitution was defeated for lacking one. These bills were later used as models by the leaders of the French Revolution when they came to proclaim their own Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Particularly notable in the field of constitutional change was the attack of the bourgeois-democratic forces on the twin principles of religious uniformity and tax-supported churches. The assault was most successful in the southern states partly because the Anglican Church there was identified with the Crown and England, and partly because the Baptist and Presbyterian farmers—especially those in the back country—objected to taxation for the support of a church they did not believe in. North Carolina and Maryland took the lead in the fight against the Anglican Establishment, when in 1776 the constitutions of both states stripped the Church of England of its privileges. In the same year Virginia repealed most of her ecclesiastical laws and exempted dissenters from paying church taxes. Three years later, even Anglicans were freed from this burden and in 1785 Jefferson obtained the passage of a law separating church and state. The same act proclaimed the right of every man to worship as he pleased. Prior to this, the constitutions of New York (1777), Georgia (1777), and South Carolina (1778) had extended religious freedom to Christians of all denominations. While church and state were being separated in the South, the Congregational Establishment was able to maintain its privileged position in New England. This was due partly to the fact that most New Englanders were Congregationalists and partly to the fact that the church sided with the people against Britain. Almost a generation passed before Connecticut (1818) and Massachusetts (1833) put an end to the Congregational Establishment, and this only after the church had exposed itself as an instrument of Federalist reaction.

In this fashion did the elimination of British rule in America, by destroying old class relationships and the political power of Tory landlords and merchants, set forces in motion which democratized American society and politics. In addition, it aided the rise of a number of humanitarian trends among which none was more significant than the anti-slavery movement.

A number of revolutionary leaders recognized the paradox of fighting for the liberty of white men and not of Negro slaves. One of them, Patrick Henry, though a slaveholder himself, was fully aware of it when he wrote on the eve of the Revolution that he believed "a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil."[14] While Patrick Henry was willing to wait until the future for the day of reckoning, Tom Paine was not. He believed that the time was already at hand for the abolition of slavery and said so in an article in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of March 8, 1775, about one month before the battles of Lexington and Concord. Franklin, Rush, and Jefferson also denounced Negro slavery, the latter condemning the slave trade in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence. In April, 1775, there was established in Philadelphia the first anti-slavery society in America. This organization, called "The Society for Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage," was composed largely of Quakers.

Under the influence of the revolutionary current, a number of states enacted measures designed to effect the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery. In 1780 Pennsylvania passed a law providing for the eventual emancipation of all chattels. The Superior Court of Massachusetts decided that slavery had ceased to exist within the boundaries of the Bay State the moment her constitution had asserted the principle that "all men are born free and equal." In 1784 Connecticut and Rhode Island passed acts providing for the gradual abolition of slavery. But in the southern states, where the vast majority of chattel laborers resided, the anti-slavery movement did not accomplish much. A hesitant step forward was taken by Virginia in 1782 when it passed a law making private emancipation easier. Under this

enactment more than ten thousand Negroes were given their freedom within eight years. However, hundreds of thousands of Negroes were still enslaved, and a second American Revolution was needed to put an end to the "peculiar institution."

Meanwhile the slave trade was under fire. In 1774 the Continental Congress proposed that the practice of importing slaves be stopped. A pledge was made not to rent ships to slave traders or sell goods to those engaged in the traffic. According to J. Franklin Jameson, the pledge was rather well enforced during the Revolutionary War. Various colonies and states acted individually toward the same end. As early as 1774, Rhode Island and Connecticut passed laws providing that all chattels brought within their respective provinces be freed. Delaware prohibited the importation of bondsmen in 1776, Virginia in 1778, and Maryland in 1783.

Negroes themselves actively participated in the anti-slavery movement of the period. Not only did they fight in the Revolutionary armies for their freedom whenever opportunity beckoned, but they also drew up petitions appealing for their liberation. In the spring of 1775, Negroes of Bristol and Worcester, Massachusetts, asked the county committee of correspondence to help them obtain their freedom. Their petition resulted in the adoption of a resolution by the white inhabitants of the locality expressing their abhorrence of "the enslaving of any of the human race, and particularly of the Negroes of this country...."[15] In 1777 a group of Massachusetts slaves presented a petition to both houses of the legislature asking for emancipation. Two years later, twenty Negroes in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, requested the assembly to abolish slavery on the ground that "the God of Nature gave them life and freedom, upon the terms of the most perfect equality with other men...."[16]

Other humanitarian movements also received an impetus from the American Revolution. During the war, efforts were made to liberalize existing penal codes. The list of crimes punishable by death was shortened and some moderate changes were made with respect to imprisonment for debts. Similarly, the American Revolution gave rise to a discussion of free, public education. In Virginia, Jefferson, recognizing the close relationship between education and democracy, proposed a plan for tax-supported elementary schools. The plan also called for selection each term of a boy of outstanding merit whose parents were "too poor to give [him] further education." This student was to be sent at public expense to state schools of higher learning.

THE PATRIOT BOURGEOISIE AND THE REVOLUTION: On the whole, the political and social gains won by the bourgeois-democracy during the Revolution were made at the expense of British interests and counter-revolutionary Tories rather than at that of the Patriot bourgeoisie. The slave plantations of southern Whigs as well as the tenant-occupied estates of patriotic New York Lords of the Valley were untouched by the bourgeois-democracy during the war. In fact, throughout the struggle, even in those states where the radicals were in power, men of large property were able to maintain some appearance of control by using the senate and the governor as a curb on the lower house (New York, Massachusetts, and Maryland) or by keeping down the legislative representation of back country counties (Virginia and South Carolina). By the end of the war, the big bourgeoisie controlled a number of state governments, despite the fierce opposition of ultra-democratic elements.

While patriotic merchants and planters were consolidating their positions politically, they were making notable economic gains. To begin with, the pro-American planters of the South improved their position substantially. Many were able to liquidate debts owed to British merchants. About five hundred Virginia planters took advantage of a new state law permitting them to discharge sterling obligations in depreciated currency. In this way, one of Virginia's leading planters, Ryland Randolph, paid off a debt of nearly £60,000.

More important were fortunes made from wartime business—army contracts, for instance. Possibly the most glaring case of profiteering involved the Brown brothers of Providence. In December, 1776, Colonel Stewart was sent by a committee of Congress to purchase cannons for General Schuyler's forces at Ticonderoga. Instructed to buy only "at a reasonable price," Stewart went to Salisbury, Connecticut, where he contracted for thirty-nine cannons, the price ranging from seventy to eighty pounds a ton. Since Congress was paying only about half that amount for cannons made in Maryland and Pennsylvania, the contract was not granted. Stewart then proceeded to Providence to negotiate with the firm of Brown and Company. Joseph Brown expressed his readiness to supply the Continental forces with the necessary cannons but made it clear that he wanted one hundred pounds a ton in "lawful" money. Finding the firm "wholly bent on [its] own interest and entirely regardless of the Public Good," Stewart left Providence for Boston where he found "a selfishness which dishonours the name Americans, and much retards the glorious cause we are engaged in. . . ."[17] Eventually, he was forced to accept the terms of Brown and Company, despite the fact that he knew them to be exorbitant.

Well-to-do merchants not only charged excessive prices for all goods delivered to the Patriot forces, but also reneged on their contracts when confronted with the possibility of losing money. In 1781, Confort Sands agreed to provide the Continental Army in the Northern Department with food and clothing. When the price of these commodities rose, the New York merchant left the troops without provisions. Washington demanded that Sands be made to fulfill his contract and in a letter to Robert Morris characterized the New Yorker as a man who lacked "common honesty." Sands was eventually released from the terms of the contract when he demanded that he be paid in specie.

Army officers were bitter in their condemnation of profiteering contractors. Some suggested that they be legally prosecuted; others, less moderate, proposed hanging first and a trial later. Washington, writing about profiteers, stated that he was "well convinced, that the public [was] charged with double what it [received], and what [was] received [was] doubly charged. . . ."[18]

Substantial merchants also made money out of privateering. New England businessmen, who had sustained heavy losses as a result of the wartime ruin of their fisheries, eagerly turned to privateering. John Langdon of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, made so much money out of privateering and trade that he could afford to build a bridge in 1786 and present it to the town. In Newburyport, the privateering ventures of Thomas

Thomas helped him to purchase the estate of the formerly rich Jonathan Jackson. Salem, nothing more than a fishing village before the conflict, had in 1781 as many as 59 privateers carrying 4,000 men. During the war, some 500 vessels were commissioned by the various states for privateering purposes and probably as many as 90,000 Americans were engaged in the venture, two-thirds coming from Massachusetts alone. So great were the profits obtained from such expeditions that New England shipping interests were never more prosperous than in the closing years of the war.

British commerce suffered considerable damage from American privateers. By the end of 1776 no less than 250 British ships had been captured in West Indian waters and the injury done to English trade was estimated at £1,800,000. Insurance rates went up to 28 per cent, a rate even higher than that charged during the Seven Years' War. By the opening of 1778 about 500 British merchantmen had been captured by state-commissioned privateers. On one expedition Abraham Whipple in the "Providence" took eight prizes whose cargoes were sold for over a million dollars. The "Hooker" owned by Robert Morris and other Philadelphia merchants captured sixteen prizes in three weeks. The attitude of most of those engaged in privateering was aptly summarized by Thomas Leaming, Jr., when he said that privateering was "the most beneficial Way, in which I could serve Myself and the Publick." [19]

The big bourgeoisie also combined patriotism with profits when it came to the sale of confiscated Tory holdings. During the war, the states, in dire financial circumstances, raised money by selling expropriated Tory property. Wealthy merchants, ever eager to turn an "honest penny," went into the market and patriotically bought up these holdings at ridiculously low prices. The Cabots, who made a fortune during the war out of privateering, used depreciated paper money to purchase part of the Wentworth estate in New Hampshire. The Sands family of New York bought up soldiers' pay certificates at low rates and used them to acquire a Tory estate in Brooklyn. Pascal Smith of Boston was said to have bought Tory holdings at half of their estimated value. Skimming off the cream, patriotic speculators held onto the property they had secured at low prices so that later on when land values rose they could sell at high prices.

Nor were smart businessmen averse to making money out of currency depreciation. Such speculation was made possible when in May, 1781, Continental money was being exchanged at only 75 to 1 in Boston as against 225 to 1 in Philadelphia. Shrewd Yankee traders traveled to the City of Brotherly Love, picked up the money at the prevailing rate, and returned home to rake in huge speculative profits. Other clever businessmen, fully aware that one day the currency bubble would burst, invested their depreciated paper money in land, mortgage loans, and government securities. They could afford to sit back and wait for the day when a better currency was established. And such a day was not long in coming.

Large profits were also derived from inflationary prices. The headlong depreciation of Continental and state money was accompanied by an inflationary boom. Prices went sky high; by 1781, shoes were selling at £20 a pair, a cow at $1,200, corn at $40 a bushel, and milk at 15 shillings a quart. Consumers, faced by an inflationary spiral, demanded price-fixing. States passed laws establishing a maximum price on goods sold in the open market. These acts, however, were not enforced and living costs soared. Monopolistic practices aggravated the situation. Merchants, cornering the flour market, rigged up prices while the army went without bread, farmers were cheated out of the fruits of their labor, and poor artisans and workers starved in the cities.

Waxing rich on inflationary prices, speculative ventures, privateering expeditions and army contracts, the Patriot bourgeoisie, especially its mercantile section, came out of the war stronger economically than ever before. Its political position, however, was far from impregnable; in fact, it was doubly vulnerable: in the states where the bourgeois-democracy was still in control and in the Confederation government where Congress lacked the power to give wealth adequate protection. So, from 1783 to 1789, the big bourgeoisie worked to establish a strong national government capable of protecting its interests against ultra-radical tendencies within the states.

CHAPTER VII

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC, 1783–1801

> "*. . . There is nothing more common than to confound the terms* American Revolution *with those of the late* American War. *The American War is over, but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed.*"
>
> —BENJAMIN RUSH, *4th of July Address*, Philadelphia, 1787

THE first American Revolution did not come to an end with the cessation of hostilities in 1783. On the contrary, it continued thereafter much to the consternation of the large propertied interests of the country. Hard times in 1786 combined with the class rule of "the rich and the well-born" forced the debt-ridden yeomanry of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to rise in rebellion. The embattled farmers attempted to seize control of the government only to find the party of privilege and reaction too strong for them. The revolt was speedily crushed as the wealthy classes throughout the country closed ranks and launched a movement to "revise" the Articles of Confederation as "the last hope of order and honesty in government."

In 1787, some fifty-five delegates, representing the camp of big property, met in Philadelphia ostensibly to amend the old constitution but in reality to scrap it entirely. They were virtually unanimous in agreeing that a strong and energetic government was needed "to secure . . . lives and property." Although the founding fathers knew what they wanted, they nevertheless had to proceed cautiously. How far could they go in curbing the revolutionary spirit of the people and at the same time succeed in accomplishing their purpose? Despite the concessions they had made to the democratic achievements of the

Revolution, they knew when they had finished their deliberations that the people would oppose the instrument they submitted. And that was exactly what happened; the masses viewed the new frame of government with suspicion and hostility. They demanded as a condition for acceptance the adoption of a series of amendments guaranteeing "the rights of man." The founding fathers, fearing their grand design might be wrecked upon the resistance of the people, submitted. Thus was a Bill of Rights added to the Constitution.

With the ratification of the instrument, the reins of government were taken over by those responsible for its establishment. For twelve years (1789-1801) the Constitution was used to enthrone reaction. Under the guidance of the anti-democratic Hamilton, legislation was passed in the interests of creditors, speculators, and traders, and an aristocratic flavor was given to the new government. As the full implications of the Hamiltonian program became apparent, the people struck back. Their democratic ardor was stimulated by the great French Revolution which they regarded as irrefutable evidence that American ideas were spreading throughout the world. They especially hailed the establishment of the French Republic and by the early part of 1793 they formed organizations to support "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" at home and abroad. Composed largely of mechanics and workingmen in the east and of small farmers and renters in the west, the democratic clubs, reminiscent of the old Sons of Liberty, served as the organizational base of the Republican Party, one of the two national parties which emerged in 1794. The other, the Federalist Party, was made up largely of those who benefited from the Hamiltonian program and who feared the growing power of the people. Pro-British and anti-democratic, the party of Hamilton was the antithesis of the party of Jefferson and, as a result, collaboration between the two to achieve national unification was impossible.

As the exponents of privilege and reaction, the Federalists launched the first great "Red" scare in American history. The democratic clubs were denounced as alien bodies using French gold to subvert government, religion, decency, and morality. Yet, despite the thunderings of a subsidized press and the rantings of pulpit-pounding clergymen, the democratic movement continued to grow. In desperation, Federalist diehards, under cover of a war, resorted to unconcealed terror in their effort to break up the rapidly rising Republican Party. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, however, proved to be a boomerang, for the small farmers, tradesmen, artisans, and workingmen held fast. In 1800 these elements allied with a large section of the southern planting class, succeeded in electing Jefferson to the presidency. Although Jefferson's election did not mean any change in existing property relations and hence was not a "revolution," it nevertheless did infuse a more democratic spirit into government policies. It likewise prepared the way for the unifying of the nation and the development of capitalism.

THE CONFEDERATION

READJUSTMENT AND RECOVERY: Historians following the fashion set by John Fiske have called the eight years of government under the Articles of Confederation the "Critical Period." It has become customary to describe the era as one of economic chaos and political anarchy. To support this thesis, historians have leaned heavily upon the biased observations of men of large property. A number of recent scholars, however, have treated the period more sympathetically—an era of reconstruction following a long war. From 1783 on economic life had to be reorganized as labor and capital turned away from wartime industry and privateering to peacetime farming and legitimate commerce. To make matters worse, once peace came, Britain closed her Caribbean ports to American ships, while France and Spain withdrew the commercial privileges they had extended to the new republic during the war. Such action necessarily involved the disruption of established trade routes and required time for readjustment.

Yet, despite the difficulties inherent in an era of reconstruction following a protracted struggle, the so-called "Critical Period" brought considerable progress toward economic recovery. Great advances were registered particularly in the field of commerce. Large quantities of goods were sent abroad to newly developed as well as old established markets. American exports to England, although below pre-war levels, increased

steadily from 1784 to 1788 except for a slight drop in 1786. Losses in the British market were to a degree made up for by the development of the new French and Dutch trade. American businessmen, freed from the restraining influence of British mercantilism, carried on a flourishing commerce directly with France, which bought more than it sold to the new country throughout the 1780's. A thriving traffic developed also with the Netherlands. Dutch merchants, eager to do business with the new republic, extended commercial credit to American customers. At the same time, they bought up larger and larger quantities of raw materials in the United States, doing much thereby to promote American freedom from British commercial domination.

Although England tried her utmost after the war to keep American merchants out of British West Indian ports, American trade in this area was not so hard hit as historians used to believe. Despite the Navigation Act of 1783, British governors frequently permitted American ships to dock in the West Indies to prevent the island people from starving. Thus, a brisk, though often clandestine, commerce developed. Similarly, large-scale smuggling was carried on with the French West Indies, because American businessmen were able to undersell their rivals by about 20 per cent. At the same time, legitimate trade in foreign West Indian ports expanded as France, the Netherlands, and Spain liberalized their colonial navigation acts.

American merchants moved goods to new markets as well as to old ones. Ships were sent directly to the Scandinavian countries and to Russia. Of even greater importance was the development of the Far Eastern trade, encouraged in part by the French ruling of 1784 permitting American ships to use French islands in the Indian Ocean as ports of call. In the same year, the China trade was set in motion when a national group of wartime contractors—Morris, Parker, Duer, and Holker—dispatched the "Empress of China" on her celebrated voyage from New York to the Orient. Three years later (1787), an American ship heading for China stopped to pick up furs in the Oregon country, crossed the Pacific to her destination, and exchanged her cargo for chinawear, tea, and textiles. Under the impact of new markets the commerce of the United

States reached in 1789 the same proportions it had attained before the Revolution.

Merchants engaged in foreign trade needed banks to discount notes. A number of such institutions were founded during the "Critical Period," the Bank of North America leading the way in 1781. The success of this venture, furthered by the wealthy Robert Morris, encouraged the establishment in 1784 of two similar institutions, one in New York and the other in Boston. During the depression of 1785-86, these newly established banks were manipulated to further the interests of certain mercantile groups. Indeed, the Bank of North America for one was charged with extending credit to some merchants while withholding it from others, thus forcing the latter into bankruptcy.

Joint stock companies were organized during the post-war period in fields other than finance. Between 1781 and 1790 some thirty-three charters were issued by state legislatures authorizing the formation of such corporations as against the five or six granted by Britain during the whole colonial period. During the post-war era, joint stock companies were organized to build canals and toll bridges, establish manufacturing enterprises, and settle the trans-Allegheny West.

Further evidence that the so-called "Critical Period" was an era of economic growth rather than stagnation can be seen in the development of manufacturing. The post-war years witnessed the rise of a tremendous interest in steam engines and textile machines. Inventions were encouraged and embryonic "factories" established. Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford opened a woolen cloth mill, while Robert Morris of Philadelphia operated a large manufacturing plant on the Delaware which did various kinds of work. By 1790 paper mills and powder factories dominated local markets, and glass-making establishments were to be found at several points, especially on the upper Potomac and at Albany, from which western settlements could be reached.

Economic progress during this period was likewise reflected in the development of the southern plantation system. Tobacco growers, released from the confines of the British mercantile system, obtained a worldwide market for their product. Within

three years after the war, Virginia planters were exporting as much tobacco as they had exported during the pre-war years. With the expansion of the European market, tobacco cultivation was extended to take in newly developed areas in the southern back country. Accordingly, by 1790, about one hundred and thirty million pounds of tobacco were being produced, roughly one-half of the population of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina being engaged in or dependent upon tobacco-growing. Rice cultivation also recovered rapidly after the war. So bright was the future of this industry that in 1784 South Carolina planters attempted to obtain capital to finance new methods of irrigating rice fields. Some two years later, southerners were producing a new type of long-fibered cotton whose seeds could be easily removed. Since relatively high prices were obtained for the crop, the basis was laid for the development of what later became the Cotton Kingdom.

The post-war years saw the recovery and expansion of northern as well as of southern agriculture. Production of wheat and corn increased steadily as new farms were taken up by people moving westward. In 1785 the Confederation government laid the foundations for the public land policy of the country when it passed the celebrated ordinance providing for the sale of rectangular surveys either by townships or by lots one mile square at a minimum price of one dollar an acre. But this system was financially disappointing and Congress decided to sell large holdings to land companies. In 1787, the Ohio Company, an association of land speculators, obtained two million acres of land which it paid for in depreciated soldiers' certificates. Several millions more went to the Scioto Company, a screen for the manipulations of corrupt politicians. In 1788, the Symmes Company also obtained large tracts of land in the trans-Allegheny West. Under the leadership of Judge Symmes, a group of New Jersey pioneers settled at a point where the Little Miami River flows into the Ohio. Some time before this, land-hungry Massachusetts farmers had founded Marietta, north of the Ohio River.

Meanwhile, the Confederation government laid the basis for the principles and procedures by which new states were to be admitted into the Union. In 1787, Congress passed a law providing (1) that the territory north of the Ohio River be organized into a district ruled over by a governor and three judges appointed by Congress; (2) that, after the population reached 5,000 free males of voting age, a legislature was to be elected and a delegate chosen to Congress; (3) that no less than three and no more than five states were to be erected out of the territory; (4) that, after a territory had a population of 60,000 free inhabitants, it was to be admitted into the Union "on an equal footing with the original States"; and (5) that the people of the territory were to enjoy civil rights, and slavery and involuntary servitude were specifically prohibited. This democratic measure, cherished in our annals as the "Northwest Ordinance," repudiated the traditional principle that colonies existed only for the benefit of the metropolis and were politically and socially inferior to the mother country.

The economic expansion of the "Critical Period" brought with it some prosperity. Hard times really struck only once—in 1785-86, and not on account of any breakdown of the economic process but due rather to overstocking on the part of merchants engaged in the import trade and to overspeculation on the part of land jobbers. The process of recovery was not in the least hindered by interstate trade barriers. Such obstacles were exceptional after 1783 despite traditional accounts to the contrary. In fact, American-grown products were virtually exempt from state import duties, while American-owned ships were given preferential rates over foreign vessels.

THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY: Among those hardest hit by the depression of 1785-86 were the small farmers. For years they had been suffering from the collapse of the wartime boom. Agricultural prices had steadily declined from 1783 on because of the demobilization of the armies and British restrictions on American-West Indian trade. Faced by contracting markets, working farmers had been forced to borrow money. By 1786 they were saddled with such heavy debts that a large section of them stood on the brink of economic ruin. Drastic action was needed to avert disaster.

So debt-ridden farmers moved into action. They demanded the passage of legislation designed to ease their debt burden. They proposed the enactment of laws abolishing imprisonment

for debt, scaling down the face value of mortgages, stopping ("staying") the collection of debts, and inflating the currency. They particularly focused attention on the issue of legal tender notes, a painless way of liquidating past indebtedness. In 1786, when the depression was at its worst, they succeeded in pushing through paper-money laws in a number of states. In Rhode Island, New Jersey, and the Carolinas, they were singularly successful in achieving their inflationary aims. On the other hand, the advocates of a "sound" currency won victories in six states, while in two others, they were able to limit the amount of bills emitted.

In New Hampshire and Massachusetts, where the agrarian elements were unable to secure even a small part of their program, civil war broke out. In New Hampshire armed farmers, demanding the issuance of an unlimited supply of paper money, surrounded the state legislature and were dispersed only after the militia appeared on the scene. The New Hampshire disturbance was part of a much broader movement. In Massachusetts, at the time, embittered farmers were raising high the standard of revolt under the leadership of Daniel Shays, a former army captain.

Shays' Rebellion of 1786-87 was largely brought about by the short-sighted and selfish policies pursued by the large propertied classes of Massachusetts, policies which brought the state to the verge of financial ruin. The party of privilege and reaction, anxious to safeguard the interests of wealthy investors, secured the passage of legislation providing for the payment of debts in "hard" money and for the redemption of the public credit. Since large funds were needed to defray government operating costs and to meet the annual interest on the state debt, heavy taxes became necessary. Rich merchants, in control of affairs, shifted the burden of taxation onto lands and polls—all of course to the disadvantage of poor working farmers. Since the depression of 1785-86 reduced agricultural income, small yeomen found it virtually impossible to pay heavy taxes and substantial debts. This, however, did not disturb the serenity of the rich and the well-born. Much more disquieting to them was the possibility that in 1786 the state would be unable to meet its payment on the public debt because of financial stringency.

While the policies of the large propertied classes were leading Massachusetts to ruin, the democratic forces within the state were organizing to protect their interests. As in the years immediately preceding the Revolution, so now, in 1786, the people called conventions to obtain action. In Worcester, Middlesex, and Hampshire counties, popular meetings demanded paper money, "stay" laws, debt reductions, and a ban on foreclosures. At the Hampshire convention one speaker asserted that he and others had fought for liberty and meant to retain it.

From speeches and petitions the embattled farmers of the interior moved to direct action. On August 26, 1786, some 1,500 of them seized the courthouse at Northampton to stop legal proceedings designed to enforce the payment of taxes and debts. The example set by Northampton was followed elsewhere in the state, as armed yeomen, many of whom were veterans of the Revolution, stopped court proceedings in Middlesex, Hampshire, Worcester, and Berkshire counties. Overzealous officials who insisted on holding court were visited by committees and told that unless they mended their ways their homes would be "pulled down." One judge, the wealthy Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge, was even threatened with death. No wonder he described the popular movement as "a war against virtue, talents, and property carried on by the dregs and scum of mankind." [1]

This was also the view of James Bowdoin, "a tough-minded merchant" who was then governor of the state. Under his leadership, the writ of habeas corpus was suspended and all persons considered dangerous to public safety were ordered arrested. Those tried for treason might be brought before courts located in any county designated by the prosecuting official. In addition, the militia was called out to crush the rising tide of revolution, but the order was soon countermanded when it was found that many of the men in uniform were in sympathy with the rebels.

The leader of this popular movement, Daniel Shays, was a gallant soldier who had fought bravely at Bunker Hill and Stony Point. Shays was a poor man, so poor in fact that he was forced to sell for a few paltry dollars the sword Lafayette had given him. Shays was ably assisted by Luke Day, also a soldier of the Revolution and an orator of no mean ability. Like Shays, he was a man of the people, poor and brave. In the autumn of 1786 these two men collected a band of armed farmers at Concord with the intention of descending on Boston, as the Minute Men of '75 had done. The government, acting with speed, dispatched a large force under General Lincoln. The result was a pitched battle which ended in the defeat of Shays' forces, which were compelled to retreat beyond the borders of Massachusetts. However, the insurrection was far from over; Shays and his followers returned to the Bay State and laid siege to the Federal Arsenal at Springfield—only to be defeated again, this time by General Shepherd. The ruling classes, seeing their opportunity, ordered the militia to track down and kill each and every "rebel." The militiamen, however, refused to do so because many of them were secretly sympathetic to the popular movement. Accordingly, Shays and others made good their escape and once again tried to regroup their shattered forces on the other side of the Massachusetts border. But, by now, the backbone of the insurrection was broken. Only a handful of men responded to the call to arms and in despair Shays fled to New York State.

The Massachusetts insurrection failed for two reasons. First, no such united front existed between the artisan elements in the city and the poor farmers in the countryside as had brought victory in the Revolutionary War. Sam Adams, one of the acknowledged leaders of the mechanics of Boston, did not lift a finger to help the followers of Shays. On the contrary, he denounced them as rebels and in his capacity as president of the Senate pushed through a bill to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. He even urged Governor Bowdoin to take vigorous action against the "country levelers." Although he was again to take his place on the side of the people during the French Revolution, Sam Adams' position in 1786 was unquestionably reactionary. His influence, together with a rumor to the effect that the Shaysites would destroy Boston, kept many mechanics outside the insurrectionary movement.

Another reason for the failure of Shays' Rebellion is to be found in the strength of the opposition. The large propertied interests of Massachusetts forgot all differences in the face of the common danger. Henry Knox, extreme nationalist, James Bowdoin, moderate, and Theodore Sedgwick, particularist, all worked side by side to crush the insurrection. Nearly $20,000 was raised among the wealthy classes to finance the expedition undertaken by General Lincoln against Shays and his men. Subscribers to the fund were told frankly that they were merely advancing part of their property to save the rest. Some wealthy merchants, such as Swan and Higginson, even enlisted to crush the insurrection. General Henry Knox, one of the organizers of the Society of the Cincinnati, prevailed on Congress to adopt in secret session a report for requisitioning of Federal troops, ostensibly to serve against the Indians in Ohio, but in reality to be used against Shays in Massachusetts. This holder of public securities, who incidentally was attempting to suppress revolution in the same way Grenville had twenty years before, tried to raise money to provide for the enlistment of Federal troops. Once when contributions were coming in rather slowly, he received a letter from one wealthy merchant, who assured him that subscriptions would soon come pouring in because of the regard rich men had for "their beloved property." The speed with which the big bourgeoisie organized to suppress the uprising shows how powerful the anti-democratic bloc had become by 1787.

As a result of Shays' Rebellion, fear of social revolution swept through the ranks of wealthy northern merchants and substantial southern planters. Henry Knox told Washington that the followers of Shays took up arms because " 'the property of the United States [had] been protected from the confiscation of Britain by the joint exertions of *all;* and therefore ought to be the *common property of all. . . .*' "[2] Sentiments such as these were calculated to frighten Washington and frighten him they did. "I feel, my dear General Knox," wrote the celebrated Virginian, "infinitely more than I can express to you for the disorders, which have arisen in these States. Good God! Who, besides a Tory could have foreseen, or a Briton predicted them?"[3] Jefferson's reaction, "God forbid that we should ever be 20 years without such a rebellion,"[4] was distinctly at odds

with the views held by the vast majority of the members of his class.

THE MOVEMENT TO "REVISE" THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: Shays' Rebellion stiffened the determination of men of large property to organize a government strong enough to protect and further their special interests. Among the most determined advocates of an "energetic" union were speculators in land and securities, men who looked forward to the day when their investments would have more than a paper value. During the war, they had bought up large tracts of land with cheap currency and large quantities of soldiers' certificates at discounts running as high as 90 per cent of the original face value. Under the circumstances, they wanted a government powerful enough to strike down state-issued paper money and redeem the public credit. They contemplated with dismay the fact that Congress under the Confederation was not even able to pay the interest on government debts because of its inability to raise the necessary funds. During the last fourteen months of its existence Congress did not obtain enough money to pay even so small a sum as the interest on the foreign debt.

The establishment of a strong government seemed equally desirable to those engaged in manufacturing. Since Congress did not have the power to set up tariff duties under the Confederation, British exporters dumped their fabricated goods upon the American market the moment peace was declared in 1783. American industrialists, unable to meet such competition, came to the conclusion that the only way out for them was through bounties and protective tariff rates.

Nor were the merchants unsympathetic. The foreign trade group wanted a government strong enough to secure commercial agreements which would permit the free entrance of their goods into foreign lands. For the Confederation's overtures in this had won response from only two European governments—Sweden (1783) and Prussia (1785). The interstate business group likewise favored the creation of a powerful national government. Under the Confederation, all kinds of currency circulated making trade between the states difficult. The collection of debts was a complicated matter: cases had to be argued before local judges and jurors, men apt to give their neighbors the benefit of the doubt. Likewise, merchants found it hard to carry on business when some states like New York and New Jersey went to absurd lengths in discriminating against each other. Although such practices were exceptional, the fact that they did occur made merchants support the idea of vesting regulatory control in the hands of a single authority.

Other economic groups also wanted to see a strong central government organized. Officers, soldiers, and speculators (merchants and planters) could realize little or nothing from their claims to western lands until a powerful national army was established to hold down hostile Indian tribes located on the frontier. Such a force could also be used to protect large moneyed interests against the dangers of domestic rebellion. Creditors who held mortgages and commercial notes wanted some central authority to prevent the several states from issuing legal tender bills. Manufacturers, bankers, and shippers, anxious to expand their business, wanted a government which could grant national charters. Similarly, merchants trading in the Mediterranean favored the establishment of a national government capable of suppressing the Barbary pirates. And the fur traders demanded that Britain be brought to book for her refusal to surrender the posts in the Northwest as required by the treaty of 1783.

Not until 1787 were most of the moneyed men of the country ready to agree that they could attain their economic objectives more easily through the establishment of a national union. Two factors held them back from this conclusion. First, there was a deep-seated antagonism of interest between northern merchants and southern planters. As exporters and importers, southern producers favored free trade and so looked askance at the growing sentiment in northern mercantile circles for a national impost system to discharge the public debt. Moreover, they viewed with concern the insistent demand of northern manufacturers that a national government be created to protect American industry. Many southern planters in the years immediately preceding Shays' Rebellion even thought it would be to their best interests to go their own way. Northern merchants felt about the same way, since they were convinced that so long as southern planters viewed the situation as they did Congress would not be given larger commercial powers. Thus, the large

property holders of the country turned to their respective state governments for aid and on the whole were successful in attaining their economic objectives during the post-war years. For this reason too there was no strong pressure for a centralized government. They succeeded generally in stopping the agrarian demand for the unlimited issuance of paper money, something their colonial predecessors had been unable to do. In addition, they were able to obtain bank charters, shift the burden of taxation onto the poor, preserve the wealth of former Tories, and incorporate municipalities with an eye to the advancement of business interests.

Gradually, however, men of big property came to realize the difficulties and dangers involved in the loose Confederation. It was indeed an arduous task to capture control of thirteen different states, especially without the assistance of a central executive and judiciary. In addition, the approach was too dangerous because in each state vigorous democratic movements existed which might at any time proceed to use revolutionary means to attain their ends. So, by 1787, most men of large property were ready to agree that it would be both safer and easier to deal with one central government at whose head was a single executive and whose judiciary had the right to nullify legislative enactments.

All these things became crystal clear as a result of Shays' Rebellion. Northern merchants and southern planters, confronted by the specter of revolution, forgot their differences long enough to launch a movement to revise the Articles of Confederation. Some reactionaries used the occasion to work for the establishment of a monarchy. Among these agents of counter-revolution were Nathaniel Gorham, president of the Confederation Congress, and Baron von Steuben, a Prussian drill-master with authoritarian ideas. Both of these men sounded out Prince Henry of Prussia on the possibilities of accepting an American throne. The prince, however, was too shrewd to succumb to temptation; he is said to have politely turned aside the proffer with the observation that he was too old to start new labors in life. About the same time, Benjamin Tupper, a land speculator and former army officer, told Knox that the only salvation for the United States lay in the establishment of a monarchy. He informed his friend that a "respectable number" of people shared his sentiments and he was sure that "if matters were properly arranged it would be easily and soon effected." Then he significantly added, "The Old society of Cincinnati must once more consult and effect the Salvation of a distracted Country."[5] Colonel Tupper was not alone in his belief that the Society of the Cincinnati, an organization founded at the close of the Revolutionary War by disgruntled army officers, was ready to carry through such a plan. Sam Adams for one thought that the society was a "political Monster" capable of hatching a government of kings, lords, and commons.

George Washington was much more representative of the main body of opinion in upper class circles about 1787. Popular embodiment of national independence and unity, the celebrated Virginian had fought too long and too hard against the British Crown to favor the establishment of monarchy in America. He was a staunch advocate of republicanism as well as of nationalism. In the years immediately following the Treaty of 1783, he showed much concern for the creation of a strong central government as a necessary prerequisite for the organization of a nation. "... Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole," he wrote in November, 1786, "whereas a liberal and energetic constitution... might restore us to that degree of respectability and consequences, to which we had a fair claim and bright prospect of attaining."[6]

A month before Washington penned these lines, five states met in convention at Annapolis for the purpose of adopting a uniform system of commercial regulation. Since relatively few states were participating, nothing much was accomplished. Yet, before the meeting adjourned, Alexander Hamilton of New York introduced a resolution calling for another convention to gather in Philadelphia in May, 1787, to consider "the situation of the United States, to devise such further Provisions as shall apply to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union...."[7]

In February, 1787, Congress took up the recommendation. It issued a call for a convention of the states and like Hamilton

was careful to restrict the business at hand to "revising the Articles of Confederation." In addition, the convention was instructed to submit the recommendations it made to Congress and to the states for approval. Delegates were then appointed by all of the states except Rhode Island. Taking their cue from Congress, the states specifically directed their representatives to limit themselves to a revision of the existing law of the land.

CONSTITUTION-MAKING

THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION: Of the sixty-two delegates formally appointed, fifty-five attended the sessions of the national assembly at Philadelphia and thirty-nine signed the final draft. Those who attended the convention with more or less regularity were for the most part practical men of affairs. According to Professor Beard, forty out of the fifty-five present held public securities, fourteen were land speculators, twenty-four were money lenders, fifteen were slavemasters, and eleven were engaged in mercantile, manufacturing, and shipping ventures. The majority were lawyers by profession, well versed in political science and, above all, in legal ambiguities. About five-sixths of those who attended the convention were personally interested in the outcome of their work and in the end were directly benefited by the adoption of the constitution. This convention, unlike the first and second Continental Congresses, included almost no spokesmen for the underprivileged. Of the bourgeois-democrats of 1776 only two were present at the Philadelphia convention—Ben Franklin and Luther Martin. The rest were either out of the country, like Jefferson and Paine; or were not selected, like Sam Adams; or refused to attend, like Patrick Henry who "smelt a rat."

On the other hand, the Right or bourgeois wing of the Revolution was out in full force. From Virginia came Washington and Randolph; from New York, Hamilton; from Connecticut, Sherman and Ellsworth; from Delaware, Dickinson; from Massachusetts, Gerry, Gorham, and King; from Pennsylvania, the two Morrises and Wilson; and from South Carolina, Rutledge and the two Pinckneys. By 1787 some of these men had become out-and-out reactionaries. Gorham of Massachusetts, who shared with Washington the honor of presiding over the convention, was so far to the Right that he hoped to set up a king in America. John Dickinson of Delaware also espoused the cause of monarchy. As he put it to the convention, "A limited Monarchy . . . [was] *one* of the best Governments in the world. . . . It was certain that equal blessings had never yet been derived from any of the republican form." [8]

George Mason of Virginia, who reflected the republican sentiments of the majority of the delegates, was aghast at the monarchical views expressed by many of his colleagues. Bluntly he asked whether they meant "to pave the way to hereditary Monarchy?" He answered his own query by saying he hoped "that nothing like a monarchy would ever be attempted in this Country" for the people would never "consent to such an innovation." [9] That same thought must have led the anti-democratic Hamilton to remark that although he feared a republican form of government would not meet the needs of the moment, "yet," he added, "we cannot go beyond it." [10]

In this remark Hamilton tersely put the dilemma of the founding fathers—how far could they go in the face of the revolutionary spirit of the masses without wrecking their whole plan for the establishment of a central government which they were to run. Although the delegates could not agree among themselves even on so innocuous a motion as that presented by Franklin to the effect that the convention be opened daily with a prayer invoking the aid of Providence to save it from breaking up, they neverthelses saw eye to eye on the need of curbing the democratic upsurge of the masses. Randolph, governor of and delegate from Virginia, spoke of "the turbulence and follies of democracy," while Hamilton divided all societies into the few and the many, the latter seldom judging or determining right.

No wonder the founding fathers decided to hold secret meetings. Being men of prudence, they thought they could achieve more by not letting the people know what they actually thought of them. Furthermore, most of them had an unholy fear of the "mob," as they were pleased to call lowly mechanics and needy farmers. Besides, since the majority were there for practical purposes and not oratorical flourishes, they needed no galleries.

So they resolved not to allow the public to attend their meetings. They also agreed not to keep an official record of the debates. The only matters they decided to put into writing were the propositions that came before them and a tabulation of the ballots cast. To see that nothing leaked out, the eighty-one year old Franklin was accompanied to dinners by a careful colleague who saw to it that he did not talk too much. Fortunately, some of the delegates took notes on the speeches made, but even this information was withheld from the American people until a half century later when the last surviving member passed away.

Possibly it was best for the framers of the Constitution that they kept their deliberations secret. Had the average man been permitted to listen to the debates, he would have been surprised, if not shocked, to hear how cavalierly the delegates brushed aside their instructions. When the question arose as to whether those present should carry out Congressional and state orders to restrict themselves to a revision of the Articles, Randolph of Virginia bluntly declared that he was not "scrupulous" about the point. Hamilton, reflecting a similar attitude, suggested that the convention by drafting a new constitution would more than justify the means used. The majority of the delegates backed Hamilton and Randolph. With this, the founding fathers were free to proceed to the business at hand—the framing of a brand new constitution.

DRAFTING A NEW FRAME OF GOVERNMENT: As Professor Schuyler has so admirably demonstrated, the founding fathers were in accord on a number of things. They were all practically agreed on the need of establishing a national as against a federal government. By the close of May, the delegates voted to set up a central authority consisting of three branches—legislative, judicial, and executive. Although they were careful to use the term federal instead of national so as to mollify the discontented farmers, they gave the new government complete power. States were forbidden to issue paper money or impair contracts, two simple clauses which effectively tied the hands of "country levelers." Congress was granted authority to levy and collect taxes, regulate interstate and foreign commerce, borrow and coin money, raise and support armies, put down domestic insurrections, and dispose of public lands.

The delegates to the Philadelphia convention also agreed as to the need of curbing democracy. Accordingly, they borrowed from Baron de Montesquieu, one of the most conservative of the French *philosophes,* the idea of a system of checks and balances. As finally drafted, the Constitution provided for a president and a senate capable of overriding measures passed by the popularly elected House and for a Supreme Court which was understood to have the power to set aside laws. Similarly, the founding fathers sought to check "the excesses of democracy" by providing for the appointment of judges for life and for the indirect election of a president and senators. Only the fear of wrecking their project on the resistance of the people compelled the delegates to provide for some democratic measures.

This compromise was not the only one which the founding fathers made at the Philadelphia convention "in the interest of union and the substantial benefits to flow from union."[11] To harmonize the conflicting concerns of small and large states, the members of the convention were compelled to establish a legislature of two houses—the upper composed of two delegates from each state and the lower composed of representatives apportioned on the basis of population, counting three-fifths of the slaves. This method of counting three-fifths of the slaves for representation was one of the great compromises of the convention. As Madison shrewdly observed, the real division at Philadelphia was between the slave system of the South and the budding capitalism of the North. Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania went to the heart of the problem when he roundly condemned the institution of slavery. As if anticipating the events of the next seventy years, the delegates from South Carolina sprang to the defense of the slave system. At this point Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut attempted to calm the troubled waters by observing: "The morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the States themselves—what enriches a part enriches the whole.... As population increases; poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless."[12] With this bit of appeasement, the founding fathers turned to practicalities—the effecting of a series of compromises between northern merchants and southern planters.

Adjustments involved delicate questions of representation, taxation, and commerce. The mercantile elements of the North contended that slaves ought to be counted as property in imposing federal taxes, but not as people in determining the basis of representation. Since southern planters took exactly the opposite position, a compromise was eventually arrived at whereby three-fifths of the slaves were to be reckoned for purposes of taxation and representation. Similarly, an adjustment was made on the question of commercial regulation. Southern planters, who needed slaves and free access to the markets of the world, were ill disposed toward the Congressional power to regulate foreign trade and to make treaties. They feared that this authority might be used to forbid the importation of slaves and to draft treaties contrary to the best interests of the planting classes. So the following compromises were effected: Congress was not to interfere with the slave trade for twenty years; it was not to levy an import tax of more than $10 a slave; it might not impose export duties, and before the Senate could ratify a treaty a two-thirds vote was necessary. In addition, the Constitution provided for the return of fugitive slaves, another concession to southern interests.

The founding fathers, having made the necessary compromises, were now confronted with the problem of what to do with the fruits of their labor. As politicians, they were keenly aware of the fact that if they were to follow the instructions originally given them, their precious document would be defeated. So, they deviated, as the Beards aptly put it, from "the letter of the existing law in the interest of higher considerations."[13] Without much compunction, they resorted to a coup d'état by providing that the proposed constitution should automatically become the law of the land the moment it was adopted by two-thirds of specially held state conventions. This method of ratification incidentally sounded the deathknell of the old Articles of Confederation. On September 17, 1787, just about four months after the opening session, thirty-nine of the forty-two delegates present signed the document.

ADOPTING THE CONSTITUTION: Despite the concessions made by the founding fathers to the revolutionary spirit of the times, the people as a whole were opposed to the document. Particularly hostile were the small farmers of the country who believed that their hands would be effectively tied by the establishment of a central government strong enough to prevent states from issuing paper money and from impairing contracts. They were quick to point out the essentially undemocratic character of the new frame of government—its delicate system of checks and balances and its method of indirect elections with respect to the presidency and the senate. They resented the fact that the proposed instrument was more concerned with the protection of property rights than in the maintenance of human rights. They did not fail to note that what the constitution was trying to do was to establish the same centralized system of political, judicial, and economic controls that the British ruling classes had attempted to foist upon them in the days of Grenville, Townshend, and North.

Although the farmers as a whole bitterly opposed the adoption of the Constitution, some of their leaders gave it their support. Among them was Jefferson, at that time American minister to France. "I approved, from the first moment," he wrote a friend in 1789, "of the great mass of what is in the new constitution...." [14] Along with other foresighted leaders of the agrarian democracy Jefferson was keenly aware of the fact that the Constitution had preserved a republican form of government in an age of absolutism. And so, he saw the need of a national union powerful enough to deal with enemies at home and abroad. To him as well as to others like him, such a union was necessary for the preservation of the Revolution of '76. However, he did not give the proposed document his unqualified blessing. He noted with concern that the Constitution did not even contain a Bill of Rights. He therefore demanded as a condition for its acceptance the incorporation of such a declaration. When Madison attempted to reassure him that the document amply guaranteed civil and religious liberty, Jefferson impatiently replied, "...a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth...& what no just government should refuse or rest on inferences." [15] He apparently knew many of the founding fathers well enough to perceive that the omission of such a declaration was the result of careful consideration rather than mere forgetfulness.

Artisans and workingmen followed the lead of Jefferson in supporting the Constitution. Early in 1788, Boston mechanics, under the leadership of Paul Revere and Benjamin Russell, adopted a resolution expressing an earnest desire that Massachusetts would soon ratify the instrument. Despite the obvious shortcomings of the document and the circulation of rumors to the effect that Philadelphia would replace Boston as a trading center if the Articles of Confederation were tampered with, the artisans and workers of Boston stood fast and, when the battle was won, celebrated the victory with a parade. So fully were they convinced of the necessity of ratification that they even refused to follow the lead of their great idol, Sam Adams, who fluctuated from outright opposition to lukewarm support. Like Jefferson, Adams was shocked to see that the Constitution said nothing about the rights of man. Not only did he fight for the inclusion of such a bill of particulars at the Massachusetts State Convention, but after the adoption of the Constitution he ran for Congress on that very platform. As in Boston, so in New York, mechanics and laborers agitated for the adoption of the proposed document, despite the fact that that doughty old Liberty Boy, John Lamb, opposed the move.

Those who supported the Constitution were fully aware of the tremendous opposition they faced from the farmers. The large property owners favoring the instrument took to heart the warning of Madison. "...[Our] government," he wrote, "ought to secure the permanent interests of the country against innovation. Landholders ought to have a share in the government,...to balance and check the others. They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority." [16] With this warning, men of large property did everything they could to secure ratification. They conducted a campaign of education, part of which consisted in publishing eighty-five essays since known as *The Federalist*. These pieces, written by Jay, Hamilton, and Madison, attempted to win the support particularly of the professional classes. In the tenth number of *The Federalist*, Madison stripped the great debate of its verbiage, and presented his readers with a masterly treatment of the practical basis of politics. "Long before Karl Marx discovered the key to history in the class struggle, years before he was born," writes Professor Schuyler, "this learned but unpretentious Virginia gentleman,"[17] had the following to say about the forces at work in society: "...the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society.... A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the ordinary operations of the government." There was always the danger that the "have-nots" might unite to overthrow the "haves." Thus, the Philadelphia convention, sought, in the words of Madison, to "secure the public good and private rights against the danger of such a faction, and at the same time to preserve the spirit and form of popular government...."[18]

But more than arguments were required to win the day. Political maneuvering of the highest order was necessary, for with perhaps less than one-fourth of the adult male population voting, at least three state-ratifying conventions—New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire—had a majority against the Constitution. In all three of these states, Federalist leaders resorted to fabian tactics in order to prevent an unfavorable vote. On the other hand, in Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Georgia, where the supporters of the Constitution were in the majority, speedy action was called for and ratification secured. On June 21, 1788, New Hampshire, the ninth state, adopted the instrument; a few days later Virginia and New York joined the procession, albeit reluctantly. It was not until after the new government was established that North Carolina (November, 1789) and Rhode Island (May, 1790) entered the Union.

The Constitution was adopted only after a hard and bitter struggle. In most of the larger states, the vote was close—in Virginia, 89 to 79; in Massachusetts, 187 to 168; and in New York, 30 to 27. Had the instrument been submitted directly to

the people for ratification, it probably would have been defeated. "Indeed," remarked John Marshall many years later, "it is scarcely to be doubted that, in some of the adopting states, a majority of the people were in opposition. In all of them, the numerous amendments, which were proposed, demonstrate the reluctance with which the new government was accepted; and that a dread of dismemberment, not an approbation of the particular system under consideration, had induced an acquiescence in it."[19] To the fear of dismembering the nation may be added another factor leading the people to accept the new frame of government. That was the assurance given to at least seven states that the document would include a Bill of Rights. In 1791 Congress, acting upon a motion introduced by Madison, adopted the first ten amendments to the Constitution. These amendments guaranteed freedom of speech, press, and assembly, religious liberty, trial by jury, and protection against unreasonable searches and seizures. In addition, they included a blanket preservation of the rights of citizens and the states against the encroachments of the national authority. A return to prosperity at the close of 1787 and the beginning of 1788 was another factor leading to the acceptance of the new frame of government.

Just as the Articles of Confederation represented a step forward in comparison with the *de facto* Continental Congress of the Revolution, so the Constitution was an advance over the Confederation. It made possible the speedier development of capitalist enterprise by creating a government strong enough to foster the growth of a national market. In addition, it gave the struggling republic the opportunity to raise and support a military establishment large enough to cope with the aggressive designs of two neighboring powers, Britain and Spain.

Although the Constitution was not intended to provide for the establishment of a popular government, it nevertheless left the door open for the growth of democracy. It gave the people a chance to liberalize existing institutions by providing for amendments. The democratic forces were quick to take advantage of the opportunity offered, as was evidenced by the speedy adoption of the first ten amendments. Later, they used the same technique to continue the democratization of American life.

During the years immediately following the Civil War, slavery was abolished and provision made for Negro suffrage. In the early twentieth century additional amendments provided for the popular election of senators and equal suffrage rights for women.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

PUTTING THE MACHINERY INTO MOTION: On April 30, 1789, before an enthusiastic crowd of cheering New Yorkers, George Washington took the oath of office as first president of the United States under the Constitution. The launching of the new government took place under highly propitious circumstances. First of all, the hard times of 1785-86 had given way to prosperity in 1789, reinforced a little later by the increase in foreign trade growing out of the wars of the French Revolution. In the words of Professor Farrand, an outstanding student of the Constitution, the document was "floated on a wave of commercial prosperity."[20] Secondly, the new government had widespread backing. Even those who, like Patrick Henry, had opposed the adoption of the Constitution or, like Sam Adams, had given only lukewarm support to it, were behind the new experiment. Most of the press was likewise favorably disposed.

Third, all key positions in the new government were in the hands of its friends. At the head of the state was George Washington, idol of the people and presiding officer at the Philadelphia convention. As chief executive, he was careful to appoint to his cabinet men whose loyalty to the new government was unquestioned—Jefferson, Secretary of State; Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; Knox, Secretary of War; and Randolph, Attorney General. His appointments to the national judiciary were equally circumspect. He selected six justices of the Supreme Court all of whom had supported the Constitution as members of either the Philadelphia convention or the state ratifying bodies. Almost all the federal district judges he appointed had worked for ratification in their respective states. Friends of the Constitution were also to be found in the halls of Congress. Eleven of the twenty-four members of the Senate had been delegates to the Philadelphia assembly, while thirty-seven of the seventy-eight members of the House had campaigned for the Constitution.

Pressing problems confronted the new government. Administrative and judicial machinery had to be created. The state, treasury and war departments were promptly organized to manage foreign affairs, finance, and defense. The office of Attorney General was added in anticipation of legal problems. And the Judiciary Act of 1789 established a Supreme Court of six justices and a federal district court for each state. Under the act, the judiciary had the right to hear appeals and set aside local measures contrary to the Constitution. Thus, the new government, under the direction of the very men who had managed the Philadelphia convention, wrote into law the theory of judicial review which under the guidance of John Marshall and his successors made the Supreme Court one of the most effective checks on the popular will. To override the decisions of the court, the people on one occasion (the Dred Scott case of 1857) were forced to take the path of civil war and on another (the Income Tax case of 1894-95) to work for nearly two decades to achieve their objective.

Raising of necessary revenue was another problem confronting the new government. In July, 1789, an act was passed providing for a flat 5 per cent import duty and a 10 per cent discount on all goods imported in American ships. Besides raising money, this revenue law advanced the interests of merchant-importers and home manufacturers, two economic groups that had worked for the "revision" of the old Articles of Confederation. But it remained for Hamilton to formulate a program which brought to the men of large property those dividends they had hoped for at Philadelphia.

Alexander Hamilton, founder of the American financial system and to this day patron saint of American reaction, was only thirty-two years old when he became Secretary of the Treasury. A West Indian by birth, he came to America in time to participate in the revolutionary struggle as secretary and confidant of Washington. After the war, Hamilton played a leading part in the movement to scrap the Articles of Confederation. So aristocratic were his views on government that even the Constitutional Convention found it impossible to accept them. Unappreciative of the American mind and spirit, he established the sway of reaction for almost a decade.

Many historians have attributed the rise of American capitalism to policies initiated by Hamilton. This thesis, however, does not coincide with the facts. Hamilton's opposition to a liberal land policy was inimical to the growth of a capitalistic economy. His insistence upon the distribution of land in large tracts was calculated to retard the westward migration of small farmers, the very movement which was destined to be an important factor in developing a large market for manufactured articles. American industrial capital would thus have been deprived of future customers as well as of cheap raw materials and foodstuffs.

Hamilton's other policies were no more beneficial to the development of American capitalism than his land program. His strengthening of the public credit and his establishment of a national bank were measures essentially dictated by the interests of mercantile groups engaged in security manipulation and stock-jobbing. The profits derived from such speculative ventures were reinvested in similar nonproductive enterprises as well as in the export-import trade. Merchants engaged in such pursuits were not greatly interested in the development of a home market. Neither were they concerned with stimulating the growth of industry, for that would mean only more competition for them when they tried to sell their imported goods. The development of manufacturing at home would also lead to the passage of tariff legislation and to inevitable retaliation on the part of European governments against American products.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that Hamilton was deserted by his mercantile supporters when he attempted to encourage the rise of American manufacturing through protective tariff rates. It therefore remained for his political opponents, the so-called "anti-capitalist" Jeffersonians, to secure the adoption of the first frankly protective tariff in the history of the country. It was also the historic task of the party of Jefferson to promulgate a liberal land policy, so important to the development of American capitalism.

Although the Hamiltonian program did not promote the rise of capitalism in the United States, it nevertheless did contribute

to what Karl Marx calls "the primitive accumulation of capital." Among "the chief momenta of primitive accumulation" Marx lists the public debt and the modern method of taxation, subjects near and dear to the heart of Hamilton. Washington's Secretary of the Treasury was above all interested in the national debt, described by Marx as "one of the most powerful levers of primitive accumulation" and as the "only part of the so-called national wealth that actually enters into the collective possessions of modern peoples...."[21]

One of the first reports submitted by Hamilton to Congress dealt with the public credit. In this report (1790) the head of the Treasury Department argued for the redemption of the national debt on the ground that such a step would win the confidence of business enterprise and secure additional loans. He estimated that the national government owed $11,700,000 in foreign borrowings, and $42,000,000 in domestic loans. While there was general agreement in Congress concerning the desirability of funding the foreign debt, no such unanimity existed in respect to domestic national loans. It was pointed out by opponents of the plan that a considerable part of the initial Continental debt had passed from original holders to speculators. In fact, four days after the report was read, expresses with large sums of money were sent to North Carolina to gobble up soldiers' certificates. One member of Congress hired two swift sailing vessels to duplicate this feat, while another entered into a contract for $40,000 worth of public securities. Despite Madison's attempt in the House of Representatives to protect the interests of original holders, Hamilton's Funding Act was passed providing for a new bond issue in exchange for old Continental and Confederation securities.

The proposal of the Secretary of the Treasury that the national government also assume state debts amounting to $25,000,000 provoked the sharpest opposition. At the time the recommendation was made most of these state securities were in the hands of northern merchants. So southern planters allied themselves with back country farmers to defeat assumption in the House in April, 1790. Hamilton then resorted to a political deal whereby he promised southern representatives that the national capitol would be located on the Potomac in return for support of the Assumption Bill. Jefferson, who had just returned from Paris and was not too familiar with the situation, supported Hamilton, particularly when the latter pleaded that the very fate of the Constitution depended upon the passage of the measure. Accordingly, the Assumption Bill was reconsidered and enacted into law. Many years later it was established that a considerable portion of the members of the House who voted for the measure held public securities and that some were carrying on extensive operations in them while acting as representatives of the people.

The redemption of the public credit transformed barren money into fluid capital. It increased the amount of currency in circulation and provided merchants with enough money to invest in additional trading ventures, speculative enterprises and new banking establishments. What Marx wrote many years later about the national debt can be quoted as applicable to the situation at hand in the United States of 1790. "...As with the stroke of an enchanter's wand, [the public debt] endows barren money with the power of breeding and this turns it into capital.... The state-creditors actually give nothing away, for the sum lent is transformed into public bonds, easily negotiable, which go on functioning in their hands just as so much hard cash would." [22]

Hamilton's assumption of state loans and his refunding of the federal debt led to the recommendation of a national bank to stabilize government credit. In 1791, a bill was introduced in Congress providing for the establishment of a Bank of the United States with an authorized capitalization of $10,000,000 in 25,000 shares. The government was permitted to purchase as much as 5,000 shares and could select one-fifth of the Board of Directors. Private persons were allowed to pay up to a certain amount for their stock in new 6 per cent national bonds. Although the bill passed the Senate quickly, it encountered bitter opposition in the House where congressmen representing western farmers and southern planters assailed it on the ground that it offered undue advantages to northern merchants. In addition, they argued that the measure was unconstitutional. No less an authority than Madison, "The Father of the Constitution," backed up this contention. Washington, anxious to obtain

national unification through collaboration, asked the members of his cabinet for their opinion. Hamilton and Jefferson submitted their views. After due consideration, the President accepted the Hamiltonian argument that the Constitution gave Congress "the implied power" to establish a bank. Accordingly, the managers of the bill jammed it through the House and the measure became law. The "funds" of the new bank were quickly subscribed to as private speculators tried their luck in a new venture. The stock was particularly attractive to foreign investors who by 1800 held about one-half of the shares outstanding.

Hamilton's redemption of the public credit also brought with it a system of taxation that was distinctly modern. The refunding of the national debt met an extraordinary emergency without the taxpayer at first feeling it. Eventually, however, he was bound to, as taxes had to be raised to meet interest and principal. Hamilton, adopting the basic tenet of modern fiscality—the taxation of the most necessary means of subsistence—secured the passage of a number of laws placing excises on sugar, auction sales, and distilled liquors. Particularly obnoxious were the taxes on whisky, a product distilled by the farmers of the back country because whisky was cheaper to transport over mountainous roads than bulky rye and wheat. Import duties were also levied to refund the national debt. In 1792, a revenue act was passed which raised duties slightly on a number of articles coming into the country under the law of 1789. The measure, however, fell short of Hamilton's proposal for high protective tariff rates.

Similarly, the Secretary's suggestions with respect to the distribution of western lands were unacceptable to Congress. Hamilton, interested in encouraging loyalty on the basis of privilege, favored a system of land disposal similar to that adopted in Canada—described by two distinguished historians, Morison and Commager, as "a bureaucratic travesty of the New England township system, with extensive crown and clergy reserves, and enormous free grants to loyalists and officials." [23] Fortunately for the future of America, Hamilton's views on land distribution were rejected. In 1796 a law was enacted providing for the sale of land at two dollars instead of one dollar an acre, a concession to western-minded speculators, and for the extension of the period of payment from three months to a full year, a concession to democratic-conscious farmers.

RISE OF NATIONAL PARTIES: The merchant capitalist orientation of Hamilton's policies helped reveal the sharp differences within the country. Quite early, two Congressional factions rose to meet the situation, one dominated by Hamilton and the other by Jefferson. The conflict between these two men was one of ideologies rather than personalities. Hamilton feared the people and wanted to concentrate power in the hands of a small group of rich men. Jefferson, on the other hand, trusted the masses and believed in vesting power in them. Moreover, the Virginian placed human rights before property rights and so saw in government an agency to promote the welfare of the people at large rather than special groups.

With such divergent views, these men were daily pitted against each other in the cabinet. A similar fight occurred in the popularly elected House where James Madison led the opposition to Hamilton. Although Madison had favored a national union to secure "the permanent interests of the country against innovation" in 1787,* by 1791 he was thoroughly disillusioned by the way the new government was being run. Honest, scholarly, and sedate, Madison was shocked to see the treasury being used to advance the personal fortunes of Hamilton's followers. This was definitely not what he had looked forward to during those hot and sultry days in Philadelphia. Reflection made him come to the conclusion that government should be an instrument to further the interests of the many, a thought that was strengthened through association with his friend, Jefferson. So, in the summer of 1791, he accompanied Jefferson to New York where an understanding was reached with the Clinton-Burr-Livingston bloc and a political coalition formed capable of defeating "the corrupt Treasury squadron." Washington, seeing his hopes of national collaboration threatened with disaster, wished to retire from the presidency at the end of his first term, but was prevailed upon to remain in office by both Hamilton and Jefferson. The former favored Washington's retention because he felt that the President would follow the program laid down by him, the latter because he wanted to see the republic preserved long enough to build an effective political party.

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* See page 255.

While the contending factions were growing to maturity during the early years of Washington's second administration, the Hamiltonians assumed the name Federalists with the idea of making people believe that they and they alone had favored the Constitution. To their opponents they gave the name anti-Federalists despite the fact that Jefferson had supported the Constitution and Madison had played so important a part in drawing it up and securing its ratification that he was justly called the "Father of the Constitution." Yet, so prevailing has the Hamiltonian interpretation of American history become that to this day American scholars continue to use these designations. Jefferson, fully aware of the opprobrium attached to the term anti-Federalist used the name Republican to describe himself and his followers. Later, the more descriptive prefix Democratic was added as the principles of the French Revolution made their way to America.

These two national parties emerged as definite entities in 1794, a year which saw passions stirred to a white heat by an uprising at home and a profound revolutionary movement abroad. The domestic insurrection grew out of Hamilton's Excise Act of 1791 placing a tax of seven cents a gallon on distilled liquor. This law proved particularly irksome to the small farmers of western Pennsylvania and Virginia whose principal occupation was making whisky out of grain, a practice which had developed as frontiersmen found it cheaper to ship distilled liquor over the Alleghenies to eastern markets than the more bulky corn and rye. Accordingly, every farm in the hinterland had its still and in the absence of money whisky served as a medium of exchange.

Since a gallon of distilled liquor was equivalent to at least a shilling, a tax of seven cents was a crushing burden. The people of western Pennsylvania resolved to defy Hamilton's excise law. They called protest meetings at which resolutions were passed urging the people not to pay the tax. If revenue officers appeared in the region, their commissions were torn up and a solemn promise exacted that they would resign their posts. No attention was paid to proclamations of warning issued by Washington at the instigation of Hamilton. When in 1794 warrants were sworn out to arrest those disobeying the law and make them stand trial in Philadelphia, indignation ran high throughout western Pennsylvania. The attempt to seize one recalcitrant farmer provoked a pitched battle between government agents and a band of frontiersmen led by a soldier of the Revolution.

Word of what had happened spread rapidly. The people sprang to arms and under the leadership of David Bradford, a back country democrat, a convention was called at Parkinson's Ferry in the summer of 1794. The meeting was well attended and a vigorous program of action adopted. All over western Pennsylvania Liberty Trees began to appear with the words "Liberty and No Excise. No Asylum for Cowards and Traitors." From some of the poles floated red flags designating the number of rebellious counties. As a result of the popular upsurge Federal officials were driven across the mountains by armed Whisky Boys. Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, not wishing to risk popular displeasure, refused to call out the state militia to crush the insurrection.

The anti-democratic Hamilton eagerly saw his opportunity. He prevailed upon Washington to intervene and show the power of the new national government. Had not the Constitution been adopted to deal with just such a "Shaysite" affair? The President issued a proclamation calling fifteen thousand men to the colors. Hamilton rode at the head of this force, which was only one thousand men smaller than the combined American and French armies that had defeated the British at Yorktown. As this force neared the Pennsylvania back country, the opposition faded and the people took oaths of loyalty to the government. The indefatigable Secretary of the Treasury secured the arrest of such leaders as were unable to escape westward. These he sent off to Philadelphia where they were marched down Market Street for the entertainment of ladies who viewed the spectacle from the vantage point of their windows. The insurgents were placed on trial and all but two were acquitted. These two were later pardoned by Washington. Although the insurrection was over, Federalist bigwigs saw to it that an army of occupation was left for the winter in the disaffected region.

The law had been enforced, but the causes of the revolt were still present.

While working farmers were rising in the back country of Pennsylvania, a deep-seated revolutionary movement was sweeping France. From the beginning, this great upheaval was hailed in the United States as evidence that American ideas were spreading throughout the world. It was particularly welcomed by those at home who believed that these ideas had not yet been fully realized in the land of their birth. These forces heartily endorsed the stand taken by Tom Paine, the great Anglo-American tribune of the people, whose *Rights of Man* constituted a devastating indictment of Edmund Burke's sinister and reactionary *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

The replacement of the Bourbon monarchy with a republican form of government in 1792 was greeted with enthusiasm in the United States. Americans were thrilled by news of the victories of the French nation in its "war of all peoples against all kings." When at the beginning of 1793 the incompetent and craven Louis XVI was executed by order of the National Convention, the event was viewed with approval by the vast majority of the American people. France became so popular that French revolutionary songs were sung along with *Yankee Doodle,* "sir" and "madame" gave way to "citizen" and "citizeness"; King Street in New York was renamed Liberty Street and the Royal Exchange Alley in Boston was called Equality Lane.

During the spring of 1793, democratic-republican clubs sprang up in a number of large commercial towns. From the seaboard area the movement spread to the interior, the Democratic Society of Kentucky being formed at Lexington. From 1793 to 1800, some forty-one popular clubs were founded throughout the country. Despite the assertions of Federalist historians, the idea of such societies was not imported from abroad. On the contrary, the clubs were indigenous to the American soil, a recrudescence of the organized spirit of the Sons of Liberty. They resembled these earlier bodies in advocating the use of force to preserve the rights and liberties of the people, in establishing committees of correspondence to insure unity of action, and in using Liberty Poles to symbolize the struggle for freedom. In many cases erstwhile Liberty Boys played leading roles in the democratic clubs of the 1790's. Benjamin Edes and William Cooper were prominent members of the Massachusetts Constitutional Society and Udney Hay and Henry Rutgers of the Democratic Society of New York. So closely associated were the two organizations in the mind of many of its members that the first name suggested for the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania was the Sons of Liberty.

Like the Sons of Liberty, the popular societies of the 1790's drew their membership largely from the ranks of mechanics and workingmen. According to a recent and competent study made by Dr. Eugene P. Link, of the 206 identified members of the Philadelphia society 103 were craftsmen, and of the 77 identified members of the Charleston Club 34 came from the same class. Those whose names could not be found—35.6 per cent of the membership of the Philadelphia organization and 32.4 per cent of the Charleston body—were undoubtedly recruited from among artisan and laboring groups. Although mechanics and workingmen outnumbered all other elements in the democratic clubs along the eastern seaboard, mercantile, planting, and professional sources supplied the leadership. On the frontier, large landowners occupied the principal posts, while the bulk of the membership was composed of working farmers, settlers, and renters.

The democratic-republican clubs of America felt a strong bond of solidarity with similar bodies abroad. Owing to the influence of the French Revolution, popular societies sprang up in England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Canada. Liberty Poles were erected in Mainz and Hamburg, revolutionary songs were sung in Montreal, and a network of corresponding committees appeared all over the British Isles to develop a program of democratic action. These manifestations were enthusiastically hailed by the democratic clubs of America. One republican society in North Carolina proposed the following toast to the Tree of Liberty, "may its roots be cherished in this its mother land, until its branches shall extend themselves over the remotest corner of the earth."[24] Other democratic clubs proposed toasts to those in Europe suffering because of their political beliefs.

Especially frequent were the expressions of solidarity with the people of France in their struggle against counter-revolution. Charleston democrats voted to forward an address of friendship to the French National Convention which numbered among its members the American revolutionary, Tom Paine. Baltimore republicans sent Commodore Joshua Barney to France with a flag for the Convention. The American officer, after performing his mission, joined the revolutionary battlefleet. In addition to expressions of sympathy, material aid was sent to the French people. Under the sponsorship of two democratic-minded doctors, flour was collected and shipped to France for relief purposes.

The popular societies in America were so enthusiastic about the French Revolution, the success of which they held to be closely linked with the rise of democracy at home, that they celebrated such French holidays as July 14, the day the Bastille fell to the people of Paris, and September 22, the day the French Republic was proclaimed. Federalist diehards opposed all such celebrations—July 4th included! And well they might for on Independence Day, carpenters, coopers, cordwainers, tailors, shoemakers, sailors, and laborers would join and drink toasts to "The Fourth of July, may it ever prove a memento to the oppressed to rise and assert their rights."[25]

Enthusiasm for the French Revolution led the democratic clubs to pass resolutions insisting that the United States fulfill her obligations under the Franco-American treaty of 1778. According to this agreement, the United States pledged itself to help France protect her possessions in the West Indies. The latter were in imminent danger of being attacked in the early part of 1793 because of the entrance of Great Britain, Spain, and Holland—all three great naval powers with colonies in the Caribbean—into the first coalition against France.

Although most Americans favored the French nation in its war against the counter-revolutionary coalition, the Washington administration decided to adopt immediately a policy of neutrality. Behind this move was Hamilton who regarded nonintervention as the best way to strangle the French Revolution. An immediate declaration of neutrality was opposed by Jefferson whose sympathy with what was happening in France was basic to his philosophy of life. To him the great French upheaval was the most sacred cause that ever man had engaged in. He regarded its success as intertwined with the consummation of the American Revolution. "I feel," he wrote, "that the permanence of our own [revolution], leans in some degree on that; and that a failure there would be a powerful argument to prove there must be a failure here." [26] Since Jefferson was aware of the indivisibility of democracy, he was ready to work actively with progressive forces abroad. Washington, however, did not see eye to eye with his Secretary of State on this point, and so issued an immediate proclamation of neutrality which declared the intention of the United States "to pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers. . . ." [27]

The Neutrality Proclamation was roundly condemned by the democratic clubs as a disservice to liberty and progress at home and abroad. Resolutions were passed against the declaration and the society in Boston forcefully opposed a United States marshal when he attempted to seize a French vessel in the harbor. In other cities, democratic clubs saw to it that British ships were not allowed to violate the unpopular Neutrality Proclamation. In Charleston, pro-French sympathizers called out the militia to disarm a British vessel.

While the popular societies were forcing British ships to comply with Washington's declaration, monster demonstrations were being organized to celebrate the arrival of the French ambassador to the United States, Citizen Genêt. A young diplomat of aristocratic origins, Genêt was a member of the Girondin party which represented the well-to-do French bourgeoisie and which distrusted the tradesmen, artisans, and laborers of Paris. Despite pro-republican protestations, the Girondists wished to save Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette from the guillotine. They finally hit upon the plan of getting Genêt to take the royal pair to America, but lacked the courage of their convictions. So the French minister sailed across the Atlantic without the King and Queen.

The democratic forces in America, unaware of these intrigues, hailed Genêt with genuine enthusiasm. In Charleston, where he landed, he was greeted like a conquering hero. Vain and irresponsible, the young envoy did not wait to be received officially. With unprecedented insolence, he began to organize expeditions on American soil against Spanish Louisiana and British Florida. This was completely in line with the suicidal Girondist policy of embroiling neutrals in war without taking account of the advantages or disadvantages involved. Jefferson, sincerely wishing to enforce the President's proclamation, insisted that Genêt adhere to the American government's definition of neutrality. The French envoy then conceived the wild idea of overthrowing those in power by appealing directly to the people, a move which played merely into the hands of the reactionary elements in America. This was clearly seen by the Jacobins who had just replaced the Girondists as the rulers of France. Since the followers of Robespierre were committed to the realistic program of not meddling in the affairs of neutral nations, the French government readily accepted the suggestion of the Washington administration that Genêt be recalled. In the early part of 1794 a new French minister was sent to the United States. The aristocratic Genêt, believing that discretion was the better part of valor, remained in America and eventually settled down to live the quiet life of a country gentleman.

The year 1794, which witnessed the passing of Citizen Genêt, saw the emergence of two national parties. One of these, the Republican Party, pursued a pro-French and pro-democratic program. It attracted to its ranks a number of southern merchants who, as shippers of rice and tobacco to France and grain to the French West Indies, sought action against British interference with American commerce. Certain American manufacturers also joined the party of Jefferson. In Vermont, Matthew Lyon and John Burnam wanted to see a home market developed for their iron products and so actively favored import duties on nails and agricultural tools. Manufacturers of metal buttons, believing in the idea "Buy American," pointed out in advertisements that their products were as good as if not better than those coming from England. These businessmen were directly opposed to the activities of New England merchants who traded in imported merchandise. Producers of snuff, tobacco, and sugar, objecting to Hamiltonian-inspired excises, also joined the democratic movement.

Men of professions and trades were drawn to it in large numbers. David Rittenhouse, president of the American Philosophical Society and one of the world's leading scientists, defended the democratic club of Philadelphia, of which he was a member, against the attacks of reactionary elements. Similarly, William Thornton, doctor, architect, and artist, worked for the cause of democracy. He considered himself fortunate to have lived "in this Age of Revolution, in this Age of Light and Reason." Likewise, Benjamin Franklin Bache, a printer by trade and grandson of the sage, cast his lot with the common man and exposed the machinations of Federalist bigwigs.

Although the Republican Party included many merchants, manufacturers, and professional men, the bulk of its membership was recruited from the masses. Working farmers who opposed land grabbing, high government salaries, and excises on necessities joined the democratic movement. They demanded the election of plain people to office, they favored a direct tax on real property, and they urged the opening of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence to free navigation. Mechanics and workingmen also supported the Republican Party. Especially active were the ship captains, sail-cloth workers, and seamen adversely affected by the British practice of impressing American sailors and seizing American ships. Maritime workers were outspoken in their denunciation of anti-democratic elements. Their feelings were well expressed in the following letter sent by "A Sailor" to William Willcocks, a "columnist" for Hamilton and a bitter foe of progress, "If your name continues in the papers, under such dirty pieces, you will soon be a corpse."[28]

Although the Federalist Party had some mass following, principally in New England, its main strength came from the well-to-do bourgeoisie. The merchants who shipped goods to and from Britain were among Hamilton's most ardent followers. Nor were the investors who held British securities cold to his touch. As a matter of fact, these two groups directed through the head of the Treasury department the financial and foreign policies of the Washington administration. "Gain is their God, and present gain their polar star," wrote Horatio Gates of the eastern traders.[29] As men of property, they feared the masses and at every turn fought what they were pleased to call "seditious and dangerous" elements. In these efforts they had the

whole-hearted support of the New England parsons who took to the warpath particularly after the publication of Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* (1794), a book written to save republicanism and equalitarianism from the attacks of the priesthood.

The Federalist Party also received the support of large landholders, men who were afraid that their property might be taken from them and, as in France, used for the public welfare. Among these big landowners were many southern planters who viewed with considerable alarm the growing number of slave revolts. During the 1790's slave insurrections increased 150 per cent over the previous decade, a gain which was undoubtedly due to the influence of the French Revolution. The cry, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," epitomized the hopes of the Negro people. It stirred the slaves of Haiti to revolt and established the first Negro republic in modern times. This successful revolution did much to encourage unrest in America. Prince Hall, a Massachusetts Negro leader, urged his people to fight for their freedom in the same way the Haitians had. Southern planters, terrified by such ideas, moved a number of their chattels to such urban centers as Richmond, Norfolk, and Charleston. In this way they hoped to be able to watch the movement of their slaves more closely and so prevent serious trouble. Their expectations, however, were doomed to failure. In Virginia and the Carolinas slave revolts broke out and scores of Negroes were jailed and several executed. Plots were frequently uncovered revealing plans for the allocation of property to be seized. When, in addition to this, southern slave owners found Republican newspapers circulating among those Negroes able to read, many turned to the Federalist Party as the safest means of preserving their "peculiar institution."

The majority of the southern planters, however, did not adopt this course. Although they feared the possibilities of slave revolts, they were too realistic to become panicky. They knew that as long as they controlled their own state governments, they were strong enough to crush any incipient uprising. That their appraisal was correct could be seen in their handling of Gabriel's Conspiracy. In 1800, at least a thousand armed slaves gathered at a designated place some six miles from Richmond, Virginia. Suddenly a storm came up which was so violent that they thought it best to disperse and meet at a more opportune time. The following day scores of Negroes were rounded up and the plot nipped in the bud. Eventually the leader of the conspiracy, Gabriel, a twenty-four year old giant of six foot two, was captured. Governor James Monroe, a member of the Republican Party and official guardian of the slave interests of his state, tried in vain to make Gabriel talk. The Negro leader was then brought to trial along with his fellow conspirators. When one of the condemned slaves was asked to say something in his defense, he replied, "I have nothing more to offer than what General Washington would have had to offer had he been taken by the British officers and put on trial by them. I have ventured my life in endeavouring to obtain the liberty of my countrymen, and am a willing sacrifice to their cause."[30] Thirty-five Negroes were executed. Jefferson, who sincerely and profoundly hated the institution of slavery, persuaded Monroe to grant reprieves to ten of the men.

Most southern planters cast their lot with the Republican Party not only because they were confident of their ability to cope with slave insurrections in their respective states, but also because they entertained a deep-seated hostility toward British and northern merchant capital. They bitterly resented the exploitation practiced by Englishmen who disposed of ready-made articles at swollen prices and paid next to nothing for southern staples. To add insult to injury, British creditors used the Treaty of Paris to insist upon the collection of debts incurred before the Revolution. This insistence led two Virginia senators to introduce a resolution in 1794 calling for the suspension of the debt clause of the treaty. Furthermore, English warships, acting upon Britain's Orders in Council (1793), interfered with the trade of southern producers by seizing American ships laden with tobacco, rice, and indigo destined for French ports. Sharp protests were soon heard in Congress from southerners who searched the pages of Vattel on international law for verbal ammunition supporting the rights of neutral nations on the high seas.

On the other hand, northern merchants, who should have complained because it was their ships which were being seized, said little or nothing. The reason for this is not hard to find: after Amsterdam fell into French hands, American merchants were forced to depend solely upon London to finance their overseas trade. It therefore appeared to them to be the height of folly to risk a war with a nation that held the purse strings. Moreover, New England merchants found consolation after 1792 in the fact that Britain did not enforce her commercial restrictions in the West Indies, a step which more than made up for the French markets lost. Additionally, it seemed best to submit to British sea power in view of the fact that England was still America's best customer. So, representatives of northern mercantile interests glossed over British infringements of neutral rights on the high seas but made much of French violations.

This was the situation in 1794 when John Jay, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was sent to England as American envoy extraordinary. While in Britain, this Federalist politician turned statesman proceeded to draw up a treaty in conformity with the interests of northern merchants and hence in the last analysis of England herself. The agreement, signed in London in November, 1794, said nothing about the seizure of American ships or the impressment of American seamen. When Britain agreed to give up the Northwestern posts, Jay surrendered on the question of the collection of private debts. This capitulation to English creditors aroused the ire of southern planters who went over to the party of Jefferson despite the qualms of conscience some still had about "leveling" tendencies.

Although the Federalists tried to keep the terms of the treaty from the people, news of its provisions leaked out. A wave of indignation swept the country. Ship carpenters and ropemakers in the Kensington district of Philadelphia burned Jay in effigy. When Hamilton tried to defend the treaty in New York, the people hissed, booed and stoned him. Crowds burned the treaty and Jay in effigy. Similar demonstrations took place throughout the land as the masses chanted "Damn John Jay! Damn everyone who wouldn't damn John Jay!" Jefferson, who had resigned his post as Secretary of State some time before this, led the opposition to the treaty. Among his followers was the new head of the State Department, John Randolph of Virginia. Yet, despite widespread condemnation, the treaty obtained the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate and was signed by the President.

Washington's action alienated the support of many people. His administratoin was roundly condemned as inimical to the best interests of the country. He himself became the object of sharp criticism; on one occasion he complained of being assailed in such terms as could hardly be applied to a common pickpocket. Increasingly under attack, the Virginian decided to retire from the presidency, his decision being brought about not because he had any serious objection to a third term, but because he was simply tired of politics. Accordingly, in September, 1796, on the eve of the presidential election, he announced his withdrawal from public life. In his oft cited "Farewell Address" he warned his countrymen against sectional jealousies, factional strife, and foreign entanglements.

The retirement of Washington from the presidency opened the floodgates. The Republicans, who were now also calling themselves Democrats, proceeded to name their leader Jefferson as candidate for president. The Federalists put up John Adams of Massachusetts, who in his younger days had collaborated with Jefferson in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. Since then, however, Adams had undergone a gradual metamorphosis. As he advanced in years, he became convinced that one revolution was enough for him. His fear of the masses led him to espouse the establishment of "an aristocracy of talents and wealth." Although the conservative Adams did not make a strong candidate, the Federalists, by the dint of much maneuvering, were able to obtain 71 votes for him in the electoral college. Since Jefferson stood second with 68, he became vice-president.

REACTION IN THE SADDLE: The elevation of John Adams to the presidency resulted in a reactionary holiday accompanied by the first great "Red" scare in American history. All this took place under cover of an undeclared war against France, which broke out in 1798, and was the outcome of years of steadily deteriorating relations. The Jay Treaty of 1795 was bitterly resented by the new French government known as the Directory. This five-headed executive committee, created by the Constitution of the Year III (1795), was as different from the bourgeois-democratic dictatorship of Robespierre as night from day. Representing men of big property, it constituted a reaction against petty-bourgeois Jacobinism. Domestic reform was shelved for a policy of military adventurism under the rising star of a young Corsican officer by the name of Napoleon Bonaparte. Similarly, the friendly policy of Robespierre toward the United States was superseded by one more in harmony with the military ambitions of the French government.

The Directory, in keeping with its new policy, treated the American Republic with contempt. It used the pro-British Jay Treaty as a pretext to order the confiscation of American ships bound for English and West Indian ports. To make matters worse, it refused to accept the credentials of a newly appointed American minister to France. The Hamiltonian wing of the Federalist Party demanded war to teach "Jacobin" France a lesson. The Jeffersonians, believing that the revolution was still in progress, defended the Directory. Adams, who wished to show the country that he did not want war, sent three commissioners to France to negotiate a treaty of friendship. When the Americans arrived in Paris, they were shabbily received. Talleyrand, the Directory's minister of foreign affairs, sent three agents, "X, Y, and Z," to find out how much the Americans were willing to pay for a favorable treaty. The attempt at bribery was reported to Adams who submitted the information to Congress and the people. A feeling of humiliation and indignation swept the country. Although some Republicans attempted to explain the affair away, most of them sided with the Federalist in the cry: "Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute!"

The United States prepared for war. A navy department was established, three powerful warships fitted out, and a number of smaller ships bought. By the end of 1798 there were fourteen American men-of-war at sea and about two hundred privateers. The "Constellation" won two notable victories, both against first-rate French frigates, one in 1799, and the other the following year. Meanwhile, the regular army was strengthened, Washington was appointed Lieutenant-General and Hamilton was chosen as second in command. The only thing needed to complete the job was an open declaration of war. Adams and the bulk of the Federalist Party were willing to accept war only if France declared it. And this France refused to do, much to the disgust and disappointment of the Hamiltonians.

The Franco-American "war" of 1798-1800 was used as a screen to launch a witch-hunt against the rapidly rising progressive movement. The reactionaries trained their guns particularly upon the democratic societies which served as the backbone of the Jeffersonian party. The support of the Order of the Cincinnati and of local chambers of commerce was enlisted to counteract the work of the popular clubs. New organizations, called Constitutional Associations, were formed for the same purpose. Nor did the diehards neglect to use the subsidized press. With monotonous regularity, the newspapers published the groundless canard that French gold was shipped to America to establish democratic clubs, attempting thereby to create the idea that the popular societies were agents of a foreign power. It was an idea which Federalist merchants and politicians were willing to pay for. Hamilton raised money for John Fenno's *Gazette of the United States,* extra copies of which were bought by well-to-do reactionaries; and Federalist cash was advanced to save George Bunce's ultra-conservative *New York Minerva* from failure. "Except for a few notable exceptions," Dr. Eugene P. Link writes, "the greater part of the American newspapers seemed to be lock, stock, and barrel in the hands of the anti-democrats." [31]

In addition, the reactionaries had New England parsons presenting arms in the fight against democracy. Puritan clergymen ranted against the democratic clubs as dens of iniquity formed to destroy faith in Christianity and God. The Reverend David Osgood, a "tea-sipping owner of bank stocks," thundered from his pulpit that the French sponsors of the Jeffersonian movement had done away with the Sabbath and had massacred 2,000,000 people among whom were 250,000 women, 230,000 children and 24,000 priests. Federalist bigwigs provided the money for the publication and wide distribution of one of Osgood's sermons. Another Massachusetts minister, the Reverend Jedidiah Morse, discovered that the democratic societies were part of an international organization known as the Bavarian Illuminati which from its headquarters in Europe proposed to subvert government, religion, and morality. The chief agent of the Illuminati in America was Thomas Jefferson. The Reverend Timothy Dwight, custodian of learning at Yale College, joined the chorus by predicting that if Jefferson were ever elected President "our wives and daughters [would become] the victims of legal prostitution; soberly dishonoured; speciously polluted . . . [and] our sons [would become] . . . the disciples of Voltaire and the dragoons of Marat." [32] Equally sober prophecies would be heard in later crises of the nation's growth.

Yet, despite the thunderings of New England parsons, the falsehoods of a subsidized press and the organization of Federalist-inspired societies, the democratic movement grew. Thus, it became clear to the reactionary forces that more than words were needed to crush the rising tide of Jeffersonianism. And so, the American republic, in the hands of the Federalists, became an instrument of oppression. In 1798 the Adams administration pushed through Congress the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts. The first of these laws gave the President the right to deport or imprison enemy aliens as the public safety required. Actually, the measure permitted the Federalist Adams to proceed against French and Irish sympathizers who opposed England and favored Jefferson. The second law provided for fine and imprisonment of any person speaking or publishing anything against the President and Congress "with the intent to defame" or bring them "into contempt or disrepute." Obviously, this act was designed to throttle freedom of speech and press for the greater glory of the Federalist Party.

The Alien and Sedition Acts ushered in a reign of terror. One of its earliest victims was Matthew Lyon, a Republican congressman from Vermont, who was fined $1,000 and sentenced to four months in prison for violating the Sedition Act. Green Mountain Boys and Minute Men, soldiers who had campaigned with Ethan Allen during the Revolutionary War, congregated outside the jail with the intention of freeing their one-time companion in arms. Lyon, who was running for Congress, pleaded with them to settle the matter at the polls. This they did with the result that Lyon was re-elected to Congress by a substantial vote. Similarly, Anthony Haswell, a soldier under Washington during the Revolution, was imprisoned for breaking the Sedition Act. After he had served his sentence, he was greeted by a cheering crowd who sang "Yankee Doodle keep it up, Yankee Doodle dandy." Many others were victimized for holding unorthodox political opinions.

The very fury of the reaction proved to be its undoing. The indestructible strength of the American people showed itself as the forces of democracy consolidated their position. Democratic leaders denounced the Alien and Sedition Acts as contrary to the first Ten Amendments. Jefferson, working through the Kentucky state legislature, secured the passage of a series of resolutions which declared the repressive measures unconstitutional and hence null and void. At the same time Madison induced the Virginia assembly to pass similar resolutions. The appeal to states' rights, which characterized the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, was of course merely a convenient way of attacking the unpopular laws. For Jefferson and Madison were nationalists and not particularists, as their administrations were later to demonstrate clearly.

The Alien and Sedition Acts were challenged by armed militia units as well as state legislatures. On July 4, 1798, the Republican Blues of Norfolk, Virginia, went out of their way to toast Jefferson and Madison in a celebration that was distinctly anti-Federalist. So speedily did the people rally behind their leaders that such shrewd Federalists as Marshall and Hamilton warned Adams to call off the dogs of reaction before it was too late. The warning, however, went unheeded and, as a result, the election of 1800 sounded the end of an era.

THE TRIUMPH OF JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY: The victory of Jeffersonianism was indicated by the success of the Republican Party in the New York State elections of April 29 to May 2, 1800. By common agreement New York with its twelve electoral votes was regarded as a pivotal state. Aaron Burr, a high-ranking member of the Democratic-Republican Party and head of the pro-democratic Tammany Society, laid plans for the campaign. Since there was a twofold increase during the 1790's in the number of New York City rent-payers qualified to vote, shopkeepers, artisans, clerks and laborers—all of whom were ardently pro-Jefferson—were in a position to make themselves felt. And Burr set himself the task of seeing that they were.

Hamilton, realizing the importance of keeping New York in the fold, took to the field personally. Both leaders went from one polling station to another in an effort to swing the election. When the returns came in, the vote of the tradesmen, mechanics, and workingmen of New York City assured Jefferson of the state's electoral votes. The outcome of the New York campaign served as the occasion for the following address issued by "An Independent Cartman" to his "Fellow Labourers": "Thanks be to the God of Heaven, our enemies have been defeated.... In vain had we fought for liberty, in vain had we overturned the British mis-rule, if a band of refugees and apostates had succeeded in reducing us to that passive state which enables tyrants to heap burden upon burden on their wretched vassals. Avaunt oppressors, we have decidedly declared we will be free; and neither bullying or coaxing shall deprive us of our natural rights." [33]

Hamilton made one last desperate bid to override the will of the small businessmen and workingmen of New York. He urged the Federalist governor of the state, John Jay, to deprive the Republican-dominated legislature of its right to choose electors. "In times like these in which we live," he wrote the governor confidentially, "it will not do to be over-scrupulous...." [34] Jay, however, refused to have anything to do with the proposal. And so, on November 4, 1800, the new legislature met and chose twelve Democratic-Republican electors pledged to Jefferson for President and Burr for Vice-President. Other states followed New York's lead, and since the Democratic-Republicans were careful not to throw away their second choice votes, both Jefferson and Burr received 73 votes for first place to 65 for Adams and 64 for Pinckney. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives because of the tie vote. This gave the Federalists a new lease on life; many thought that if they could drag out the vote in Congress long enough to disgust that body and the country, they could elect a Federalist, or failing that, a pliant politician like Burr.

Hamilton, however, refused to become a party to this conspiracy. Although he hated Jefferson, he looked upon him as the lesser of two evils, because he was convinced that Burr, the enigmatical grandson of the New England philosopher, Jonathan Edwards, was "the Catiline of America," a man capable of selling his homeland to the highest bidder. Since Hamilton loved his country too much to become a traitor, he attempted to persuade his Federalist colleagues to give up their mad plan. However, they refused to listen to him and through thirty-five ballots supported Burr rather than a "dangerous radical." As a result, the House, voting by states, was deadlocked. Rumors spread that the Federalists would resort to a coup d'état aimed at making John Marshall, then Secretary of State and recently appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, or some other high-ranking official President. So tense was the situation that the Democratic-Republican governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, M'Kean and Monroe respectively, were told to get their state militias ready to march on Washington. Fortunately, Hamilton was able to persuade enough Federalist Congressmen to cast blank ballots and elect Jefferson President in February, 1801, by a majority of two states.

About two months later the great Virginia leader of American democracy was inaugurated as third President of the United States. The entire country celebrated the happy event. Tradesmen closed their shops, mechanics left their benches, and farmers flocked into towns. Not since 1783 had there been such a holiday. While the people rejoiced, Federalist diehards were sullen and gloomy. They looked upon Jefferson's elevation to the presidency as a catastrophe of major proportions. Theodore Dwight of Connecticut expressed the reaction of his Federalist brethren when he asserted that the country was "governed by blockheads, and knaves.... Can the imagination paint anything more dreadful this side [of] hell?"[35] Hamilton was likewise despondent; in a letter to Morris he wrote, "What can I do better than to withdraw from the scene? Every day proves to me more and more, that this American world was not made for me."[36] Nor was it made for the Federalist Party, which never recovered from the election of 1800. During the next fifteen years, it went from bad to worse, eventually becoming the party of treason aiming at the dismemberment of the nation.

Although Jefferson's elevation to the presidency did not constitute a revolution in the sense of changing existing property relations or of overthrowing the political power of the ruling class, it nevertheless marked the beginning of an era. Jefferson and his friends replaced the formalism and pomp of the old Federalist regime with a rule of conduct more becoming a republican form of government. The White House was open to all comers, the President received foreign diplomats in red waistcoat, corduroy breeches and slippers, and written messages were transmitted to Congress instead of an annual "speech from the throne." In addition, Jefferson and his associates introduced a more democratic spirit in the system providing for the election of a president. While none of these reforms were drastic, they were steps in the right direction. In fact, the election of Jefferson constituted a notable victory for the progressive forces of republican America.

REPUBLICAN CULTURE

THE IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: The casting off of British rule produced deep-seated changes in existing class relations, intellectual interests, and aesthetic tastes. At the top of the social structure the American Revolution eliminated that part of the colonial aristocracy that remained loyal to British interests. The expulsion of royal governors, army officers, judges, and customs collectors raised to the highest rank those well-to-do planters and merchants who sided with the Revolution. Since most of the latter were drawn from the "best" families, they had no compunction after the war in sharing social pre-eminence with non-exiled Tory aristocrats. On the other hand, well-born planters and merchants found it hard to accept the social pretensions of those whose fortunes were made out of wartime privateering, contracts, and speculation. But in the end, even the *nouveaux riches* were permitted to enter the inner sanctum, ample evidence of the fact that the new bourgeois spirit of measuring leadership in terms of money rather than family was gaining ground. By the end of the century, Charleston aristocrats and Philadelphia nabobs were spending their summers together at Newport.

The Revolution also produced changes at the middle and bottom of the social order. The elimination of British rule gave farmers the opportunity to acquire western lands. This meant an increase in the number of independent yeomen, a fact which made possible greater political power. Similarly, the Revolution opened new vistas to city tradesmen, artisans, and laborers who during and after the war played an increasingly important role in politics. At the bottom of the social ladder the casting off of British domination also had its effects. While the system of white servitude was still protected by law and custom, the practice of importing contract laborers after the war virtually disappeared. The reason for this was threefold: (1) the opening of western lands, (2) the falling off of immigration, and (3) the relative abundance of slave labor. Although slavery was assailed during the Revolution by abolition in the North and voluntary manumission in the South, this cancerous growth was too deeply rooted in the plantation economy to be seriously affected. In fact, slavery was strengthened in the South after the war as a result of the rapid growth of the British textile industry and the invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin.

The Revolution affected not only class relationships but also intellectual pursuits. During the war, some of America's leading thinkers put aside scholarly work to assume public duties. Franklin, Jefferson, Rittenhouse—to mention only three—devoted all of their energies to winning the war, the first as ambassador to France, the second as a member of the Continental Congress and governor of Virginia, and the third as director of the United States Mint. Similarly, the war dealt cultural pursuits a hard blow by destroying valuable book collections. For instance, the British plundered the famous Redwood library in Newport which lost about half of its books before the end of the war. The conflict also adversely affected educational facilities. In rural communities schools closed down, while in urban areas their work was hindered. During the British occupation of New York, not a single school was open. Higher education also suffered; some colleges like Columbia were forced to shut down. Others, such as Harvard, the College of Philadelphia, and the College of Rhode Island, temporarily suspended classes in order to quarter and hospitalize Continental troops. The absence of an adequate supply of published works also handicapped institutions of higher learning. Colonial presses were in no position to furnish the colleges with enough books because of relatively poor equipment. Indeed, during the war, American printers were so handicapped that many newspapers and magazines were discontinued.

While the Revolution dealt severe blows to the agencies of intellectual life, it did a great deal to advance popular culture. It contributed to the learning of the plain people by giving the rank-and-file soldier an opportunity to see the country and to participate in the discussion of political tracts around the campfire. The Revolution also enriched folk culture. Out of it came the great marching song, *Yankee Doodle,* which an American band played at Saratoga while boastful "Johnny" Burgoyne was surrendering his army to the Continental forces. The Revolution likewise gave rise to many ballads, the best of which was *Hale in the Bush* (1776), an anonymous tribute to the celebrated American patriot, Nathan Hale. Among other noteworthy ballads were *The Fate of John Burgoyne* (1777), and *Bold Hathorne* (1777), the first describing the triumph of "the sons of Freedom" over the bragging young British general and the second commemorating the victory of an American privateer over British men-of-war.

The Revolution promoted cultural development in two other ways. First, it facilitated the interchange of ideas by making possible the establishment of a central government with a federal capital to which men came from every part of the Republic. Secondly, it gave Americans an opportunity to be in contact with a group of brilliant French officers who introduced them to the writings of Voltaire, d'Holbach, Diderot, d'Alembert and Rousseau. Accordingly, there developed in America a French vogue, ample proof of America's desire to throw off the intellectual tutelage of England.

GROWTH OF NATIONALISTIC THOUGHT: The Revolution, by arousing a patriotic feeling, encouraged the growth of nationalistic thought. The latter manifested itself in an attempt to achieve a distinctive American culture. Throughout the late eighteenth century, leading American intellectuals, irrespective of bourgeois or bourgeois-democratic affiliations, urged the young Republic to dissociate herself from Old World patterns. Particularly eloquent was Philip Freneau who made a strong plea for intellectual freedom in his *Literary Importation*

(1786), a poem which denounced American dependence upon Europe in the following manner:

Can we never be thought to have learning or grace
Unless it be brought from that horrible place
Where tyranny reigns with her impudent face?[37]

The notion of freeing the young Republic from Old World leading strings was expressed in other fields of cultural endeavor. The Reverend Jedidiah Morse prepared a geography textbook to liberate his countrymen from European influences. His *Geography Made Easy* (1784), which went through twenty-five editions during his lifetime, was staunchly American. In it as well as in a subsequent work *The American Geography* (1789), Morse proclaimed the superiority of his native land over all other countries. Another New Englander, Noah Webster, published his famous "blue-black spellers" with the idea of giving Americans a phonetically simplified spelling and common grammatical usages. His thesis of a distinctive American language was shared by other contemporary scholars. Webster also published reading books for beginners and although they never attained the vogue his spellers did, they nevertheless contributed their share in promoting national self-consciousness.

The growth of a national feeling was also expressed in the idea that an independent country should promote knowledge. In 1780, an American Academy of Arts and Sciences, modeled after the French Academy, was established in Boston. Papers were read and discussed by the leading patriots of the day. A similar academy was founded in Virginia with the help of a French officer. Pennsylvania had a Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and Useful Arts which in 1792 offered rewards for the best pottery, chinaware, and other useful articles. Meanwhile, professional schools were being founded, such as the Harvard Medical School (1782), so that Americans would not have to go abroad to study.

The growing spirit of nationalism also showed itself in the historical field. The patriotism engendered by the struggle for independence was reflected in histories of the American Revolution written by Dr. David Ramsay and the Reverend William

Gordon. Less national in scope but exhibiting the same pride in the American past were the state histories of New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Vermont, written respectively by Jeremy Belknap, Robert Proud, and Samuel Williams. Interest in the past was also reflected in the collection of historical material and in the formation of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791.

Similarly, the spirit of cultural nationalism was displayed in an unbounded faith in America's future. As early as 1771, Philip Freneau predicted in his *Rising Glory of America* that the millennium would come to pass in the New World. So overcome was he by the vision that he wrote:

O snatch me hence, ye muses, to those days
When, through the veil of dark antiquity,
A race shall hear of us as things remote,
That blossomed in the morn of days[38]

The majestic future of America was also the theme of Joel Barlow's epic poem, *The Vision of Columbus* (1787). Done in heroic couplets, the poem was well received by contemporaries who shared Barlow's conviction that America was man's best hope, the moral guide and beacon light of civilization. Those who believed in America's future were ready to concede the new nation cultural hegemony over the rest of the world. In the words of one observer the young Republic was bound to become "the seat of the Muses, the Athens of our age, the admiration of the world."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY: The American Revolution gave an impetus to democratic as well as nationalistic thought. The casting off of British rule served to popularize the natural rights philosophy, while the launching of a republican government opened the floodgates to a broader conception of culture. During the War for Independence, the social contract theory with its corollary doctrine of natural rights was brought home to the people by a number of brilliant writers. Among the latter was that master of revolutionary pamphleteering, Thomas Paine, whose *Common Sense* (1776) won over tens of thousands of wavering colonists to the cause of complete separation from the mother country. Equally effective was his *American Crisis* (sixteen numbers, 1776-83) which did much to bolster the morale of the Patriot forces during the dark days of the Revolution. This series of articles, which was written in language the plain people could understand, circulated widely, but Paine with his customary public zeal refused to accept a penny for his work. He even went into debt to cover the costs of publication.

Paine's stirring pleas familiarized Americans with the natural rights philosophy. The latter was used not only to justify the revolt against England but also to sanction the efforts of farmers, artisans, and laborers in their struggle against large propertied interests at home. It was given classic expression by the followers of Daniel Shays who insisted in 1786 that what they were fighting for was the same as in '76, the right of the people to determine their own existence.

The popularization of the natural rights philosophy was only one aspect of a much broader picture—the democratization of intellectual life. Indeed, the very creation of the American Republic necessitated a democratic conception of culture. If republican government was to survive in an age of monarchic absolutism, the people must be provided with opportunities for education. In 1783, the Reverend John Murray, a liberal clergyman of Universalist persuasion, suggested that schools and colleges should be placed within the reach of the humblest citizen. In this way tyranny and autocracy could be uprooted and the republican experiment saved.

Other thinkers believed that the American Republic needed a simple faith devoid of past errors. In 1784, Ethan Allen identified republican religion with deism. In his *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* the hero of Ticonderoga boldly rejected the miracles and prophecies of Christianity as irrational and "chimerical." Like his fellow deists, Allen pictured the Supreme Being as a Passive Policeman who, after having created the universe, allowed it to run on and on in accordance with the immutable laws of nature. A belief in the existence of God, acceptance of a future state, and the practice of the good life constituted the sum and substance of true religion. Since this threefold creed was based on reason and not caprice, on the dignity and not servility of man, Allen believed it was best suited to the needs of republican America.

While Allen was attempting to formulate a republican religion, others were trying to bring music to the people. Andrew Adgate, the son of humble parents, proposed that a series of concerts be given in Philadelphia by singers recruited from every class in society. He also suggested that instead of singing the notes of a piece of music to the words, the syllables *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, ti* be used. This suggestion was bitterly assailed by another Philadelphia musician on the ground that such music was suitable only for mechanics, laborers, and farmers. Such opposition, however, did not prevent Adgate from holding his concerts or publicizing his plans for a universal musical education. Similarly, two artisans—William Billings, a Boston tanner, and Oliver Holden, a Charlestown carpenter—helped bring music to the people.

Although the American Revolution promoted the growth of democratic thought, it remained for the French Revolution to clarify and sharpen it. The great French upheaval was like a red-hot plowshare drawn through the history of the Washington and Adams administrations. It substituted political parties for factional alignments and galvanized the masses into action. Negatively, it put an end to the aristocratic reaction, dashing the last hope of the monarchy men for the re-establishment of kingly government in America. Positively, it paved the way for the wider acceptance of democracy by providing the young Republic with a body of thought which appealed to the politically disinherited. By intensifying class divisions, it produced a ferment out of which emerged a philosophy of life whose political counterpart was Jeffersonianism.

As during the American Revolution, so during the French Revolution Thomas Paine brought home to the people the most advanced thought of the age. Paine, whose country was the world and whose religion was to do good, was visiting Europe when the great upheaval broke out. Without hesitation he threw himself into the fight. His *Rights of Man* (two parts, 1791-92) was not only a vigorous answer to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France,* but also a clearcut statement of the democratic philosophy. To Burke's contention that the English people of 1688 had entered into a solemn agreement binding them and their descendants forever, Paine declared that no one could barter away the rights of those not yet born. Government, he insisted, must be based on the consent of the governed. Furthermore, the masses must be allowed to direct their own affairs. If given the necessary information and proper education, the judgment of the people could be depended upon.

Paine's belief in the perfectibility of man was likewise shown in his *Agrarian Justice* (1796), a book which dealt with the problem of the elimination of poverty. Recognizing that the crux of the entire question lay in the principle of private property, Paine raised the issue of whether property rights were sacredly personal or whether they were responsible to the needs of society. He held that whatever property men accumulated beyond their own labor power came from the fact that they lived in society. Thus, society was entitled to receive that surplus back from them. Paine proposed to deal with the problem of poverty by providing for the subsidization of the young and the care of the old through a system of graduated inheritance taxes and ground rents.

While Paine was popularizing the democratic philosophy, Jefferson was seeking to embody it into a political program. Like his friend Paine, he believed in the perfectibility of human nature, rule by the majority, the elimination of ignorance through education and the idea of progress. Widely read, he took what was best from European philosophy and applied it to America. He vigorously opposed government by aristocracy because of his conviction that this would only take care of the interests of the few. He regarded "the best people" as an obstacle to social justice and observed that honesty did not increase with riches. Unlike most of his fellow planters, Jefferson had no fear of the masses; on the contrary, he trusted them because he believed in their inherent goodness. He was convinced that the more information the people had the more likely were they to put things to right. Tyranny, according to Jefferson, could flourish only where ignorance and superstition prevailed.

To insure an enlightened public opinion, the advocates of democracy favored universal education. They formulated plans

for a nation-wide system of tax-supported schools. They favored the establishment of a national university to which capable young men would go irrespective of economic or social status. They were fully cognizant of the fact that their efforts to provide an education for all would be opposed by the aristocratic few. As one of them, William Manning, a humble New England farmer, quaintly put it, "Larning is of the greatest importance to the seport of a free government, & to prevent this the few... are always opposed to cheep schools & woman schools, the ondly or prinsaple means by which larning is spread among the Many."[89] Manning's interest in "woman schools" was in harmony with the idea of most proponents of democratic culture that girls be given educational opportunities, if for no other reason than that as future mothers they should be trained to bring up their children to respect and cherish republican institutions.

A much more cogent argument for female education was advanced by the celebrated English feminist, Mary Wollstonecraft. In her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), she held that women were the equal of men in every sphere of life and, if given educational opportunities, would quickly advance in mental attainments. Her book, which was reprinted in America, gave currency to feminist ideas. Charles Brockden Brown, the outstanding novelist of the age, came under her influence. In his *Alcuin* (1797), he urged that women be given legal, political, economic, and cultural equality. While Brown was espousing the cause of feminism, women were demonstrating their ability to stand on their own feet. Abigail Adams, a polished correspondent, showed herself to be well versed in literature, theology, philosophy, and science. Mercy Warren wrote a creditable play and spent some time preparing a history of the American Revolution. Sarah Wentworth Morton and Hannah Webster Foster distinguished themselves in the field of fiction and were among the most popular novelists of their age. All four of these women were living witnesses to the advantages society could derive by extending educational opportunities to all.

Closely connected with the idea of popular education was the concept of progress. Faith in man's capacity to advance indefinitely was widely accepted in America inasmuch as the new

Republic had tremendous material resources, was handicapped by no clerical monopoly of education, and afforded opportunities for social and economic betterment. The idea of progress was given its finest expression by the Marquis de Condorcet (1743-94) whose celebrated history of the *Progress of the Human Spirit* was written during the French Revolution. Condorcet's belief in the perfectibility of mankind and his faith in man's ability to improve his social and political lot were shared by American democratic thinkers. One of them, Philip Freneau, used his pen to lampoon the enemies of democracy because of his conviction that human progress was dependent upon the establishment of the democratic state. Like Freneau, Joel Barlow was a firm believer in the idea of progress through democracy. This ardent champion of the rights of man saw in the not too distant future the dawn of the golden age of international harmony and universal peace. Another champion of progress, Nathaniel Chipman, advocated the writing of a new type of history, one which would serve to direct the future course of humanity. With this in mind, he urged historians to deal less with battles and intrigues and more with the forces of social progress.

Those who believed in the future attached great importance to the development of science. To them, science, more than any other single force, was capable of overthrowing two of the most powerful props of the old regime—ignorance and superstition. In addition, it was believed to offer a method for the understanding and solution of social problems. Since forward-looking Americans regarded science as man's best hope, they contributed their share to its development. Some of them, like David Rittenhouse, Benjamin Rush, and Benjamin Franklin, continued the work they had begun in colonial times. In 1786 Rittenhouse introduced the use of spider lines in the focus of a transit instrument. Five years later he was elevated to the presidency of the American Philosophical Society. Like Rittenhouse, Rush achieved an international reputation. His contributions to the field of medicine won him official recognition from the rulers of Prussia and Russia. Jefferson, who became America's outstanding intellectual after the death of Franklin in 1790, devoted himself to the classification of fossils found in various parts of the United States. His keen interest in science led him to sponsor the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific Northwest in 1804, an expedition which resulted in the extension of man's knowledge of the geography, geology, and botany of the vast empire recently acquired from France. Two of Jefferson's friends, both refugees from English reaction—Joseph Priestley and Thomas Cooper—also contributed to the development of science in America. Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, arrived here in 1794 and established a small laboratory in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, where he conducted a series of experiments which led to the discovery of carbon monoxide. As a staunch supporter of democracy, he was active in the cause of Jeffersonian republicanism until his death in 1804. The distinguished English chemist Cooper also aided the democratic forces in America. But reaction was still strong and so for his pains he was arrested and fined under the infamous Sedition Act. Later, Cooper was forced to give up a professorship at the University of Virginia because of his unorthodox religious views.

Scientific knowledge was used in the early Republic to promote agriculture and industry. While Minister to France, Jefferson sent seeds and plants to his native land for experimental purposes. In 1798, he designed a plow which "symbolized the transition from trial-and-error invention to invention by scientific law." In addition to Jefferson, others attempted to turn scientific knowledge to practical ends. In 1787, Thomas Paine returned to Europe to perfect a model of an iron bridge he had been working on for the betterment of mankind. In the same year, John Fitch directed a steamboat up the Delaware River, anticipating Robert Fulton by about twenty years. Equally important was Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793, an invention that was destined to promote the growth of the cotton textile industry but unfortunately to revive the institution of slavery. By the end of the century, Whitney was making interchangeable parts for firearms in his factory near New Haven, a significant contribution to the development of American technology.

Those who saw in science and education the way to progress and in political democracy the way to a better society were drawn from every class. Thomas Jefferson was a planter, William Manning a farmer, and Thomas Paine an artisan. Yet, in spite of social origins, the champions of the democratic ideology had one thing in common—faith in the plain people. As spokesmen for the mass of small farmers, shopkeepers, artisans and laborers, they employed every means at their command to spread the new philosophy. Philip Freneau used the periodical press to sing the praises of democracy, rationalism, education, science, and progress. In 1791, he launched the *National Gazette*, a newspaper backed by Jefferson. Recourse was also had to the stage, William Dunlap, the author of some fifty plays, using it to disseminate democratic ideas. He was aided in this work by two other contemporary dramatists, James N. Barker, a Republican office holder, and Mordecai Noah, an outstanding Jewish democrat.

THE CONSERVATIVE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE: While the exponents of democracy were popularizing the new ideology, the intellectual defenders of the status quo, drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of well-to-do merchants, planters, and professionals, were assailing revolutionary Jacobinism at home and abroad. Bringing all their learning to bear, they did their best to make a case for property, aristocracy, and revealed religion.

The apologists of big property trained their heaviest guns upon what they were pleased to describe as the "excesses" of the French Revolution. Basing their appeal upon the humanitarian horror of bloodshed, they pictured the great French upheaval as an orgy of blood-letting. Richard Alsop, a millionaire merchant and writer, satirized the guillotine, while John Adams wanted to know when the "savages" in France would be satiated with blood. Especially were the champions of wealth stirred to wrath at the least indication of confiscatory policies. John Adams, one time defender of human rights and now stalwart champion of property rights, viewed with alarm the expropriation of landed estates during the French Revolution. To him, this occurrence appeared to be another instance of the viciousness of human nature. Convinced that men were moved by the desire to accumulate goods, Adams saw in history an endless struggle between the rich and the poor. To protect themselves from the "have-nots," the well-to-do seized control of the government from the very beginning. And this was as

it should be, said Adams, for if the rich were to allow state power to slip from their grasp the poor would use the government to redistribute property. Like Adams, Alexander Hamilton was alarmed by the confiscatory policies of the French Revolution because he too viewed history as a struggle between a "master" group and the "swinish multitude." Propagating the thesis of self interest and class domination, he believed that without a property aristocracy the existence of an ordered society was impossible.

To Adams and Hamilton, democracy was a contemptible and vicious form of government. Such was also the "considered" opinion of Joseph Dennie, an essayist and member of the State Department during Adams' administration. This scribbler regretted that he had not been born a subject of the King of England, for in London his literary talents would have been appreciated and his fortune made. To men like Dennie, the masses were ignorant, shiftless, and worthless. Their attempts at learning and wisdom were sneered at, as evidenced by the following snobbish jest:

Down at night a bricklayer or carpenter lies,
Next sun a Lycurgus, a Solon doth rise.

The intellectual apologists of the old order viewed with alarm the spread of deistic as well as democratic ideas. While not opposed to the dissemination of deism among the "rich and the well-born," they feared its circulation among the masses. They were fully cognizant of the fact that the anti-Christian aspect of deistic speculation contained tons of social dynamite which, if set off, would blow up not only organized religion but also the prevailing social order. In a letter to the editor of *The Temple of Reason* for November 27, 1802, a correspondent wrote:

> "Very few rich men, or at least men in the higher grades of society, and who receive a liberal education, care anything about the Christian religion. They cast off the yoke of superstition themselves; yet, for the sake of finding obedient servants, they would continue to impose it on the poor."

No wonder the champions of wealth were alarmed at the attempt to bring deism to the people. Particularly were they frightened by the popularity of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*, the first part of which appeared in 1794. This book, which was written to save deism from atheism and republicanism from clericalism, put into understandable form the work of rationalistic English and French thinkers. It explicitly rejected traditional Christianity with its priesthood, dogmas, and supernatural revelation. *The Age of Reason* circulated widely; according to contemporary accounts, it could be found in practically every village in America. Because of it tens of thousands were said to have deserted their faith. Parson Weems, Washington's old friend and biographer, sold *The Age of Reason* in Virginia, while democratic and deistical societies used it as a textbook.

The work begun by Paine was brought to a climax by Elihu Palmer, a blunt clergyman, who proposed to strip religion of its "trappings and mysteries." He became the center of a group of militant deists which included John Fitch, one of the early inventors of the steamboat; John Fellows, a friend of Jefferson; and Dennis Driscoll, an Irish immigrant and ex-priest. These men organized deistic societies at which lectures were conducted and through which freethinking tracts were circulated. Some of these societies were closely connected with democratic clubs. In addition, a number of popular newspapers were founded among which were *The Beacon, The Temple of Reason,* and the *Prospect or View of the Moral World.* The latter was edited by Palmer who also spent much of his time delivering anti-Christian lectures from Newburgh to Atlanta. He was assisted in this work by another brilliant orator and free thinker, John Foster.

The publication of popularized deistic tracts and the formation of deistic newspapers and lectureships caused consternation among the supporters of the status quo. Conservative clergymen were particularly alarmed by the trend and many thought that only a miracle could save Christianity. In 1798, the New York Missionary Society addressed the following appeal to all those "who love our Lord Jesus Christ":

> "... Infidelity abounds. It hath assumed an imperious air and glories in the expectation of a speedy extermination of the religion of Jesus. To confound its vain hopes, we are called upon to show that the Spirit of Christ continues to animate his body.... [The] Lord is about to build up Zion, and to appear in his glory. Amen. Even so; come Lord Jesus."[40]

With their backs to the wall, the clergy launched a counter-offensive. Apologetic works were published which attempted to demonstrate the unreasonableness of the deistic position. Alongside of this rational defense of Christianity there emerged an evangelical movement which reached its height at the turn of the century and which was accompanied by the establishment of missionary societies, orthodox magazines, theological seminaries, Bible clubs, and Sunday Schools—all of which proved too much for the relatively poorly organized deistic movement.

Although the intellectual champions of privilege were still in a dominant position at the turn of the century, new forces were appearing on the scene to dash the hopes of those who still dwelt in the twilight of a colonial past. Jefferson and his followers secured the passage of legislation beneficial to the people and at the same time strengthened the nation through the purchase of Louisiana and the suppression of the Burr Conspiracy. Thus the lusty young republic was able to combat successfully British land and sea power in the second war of liberation. The survival of the nation in the War of 1812 prepared the way for further progress. The rise of the factory system, the beginnings of an organized labor movement, and the extension of agriculture westward made possible the rise of Jacksonian democracy. Under the impact of these new forces, the suffrage was widened, imprisonment for debt abolished, and free public education extended. Thus, the struggle for American freedom was raised to a higher plane and the promise of American life broadened.

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